

Volume XXIII

APRIL

Number 2

The South Atlantic Quarterly

The Bible Once More

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The most comprehensive and illuminating survey of the facts and theories of modern science, and more especially of the theory of Evolution, that I have heard in recent years closed with a modified form of the first verse of *Genesis*: "In the beginning the eternal Power, the eternal Mind, the eternal Spirit—God." There could be no better evidence of the insight and inspiration of the Bible than this recognition of its supreme authority in the realm of religious thought. To the same effect spoke Huxley, the most eminent expositor of Evolution: "How is the religious, which is the essential basis of conduct, to be kept up in the present utterly chaotic state of opinion without the use of the Bible? The pagan moralists lack life and color." And Goethe, the most many-sided man of letters of the modern world, once said: "Let the world progress as much as it likes; let all branches of human research develop to the very utmost; nothing will take the place of the Bible." In a spirit of greater devoutness the authors of the Revised Version wrote at the end of their arduous labors: "If we be ignorant the Scriptures will instruct us; if out of the way they will bring us home; if out of order they will reform us; if in heaviness they will comfort us; if dull they will quicken us; if cold they will inflame us."

Such tributes might be continued indefinitely and would constitute a psalmody of praise and thanksgiving from multitudes of men in many centuries. One approaches such a book with a feeling of reverence and even awe, so great it is in its con-

tent and in its connotations. But would such tributes indicate an agreement with the popular conception of the Bible? The authors of the Revised Version would scarcely have agreed with a Texas preacher that the King James version was dictated in good King's English to faithful amanuenses, for they had spent many years clearing up some of the obscurities and corruptions of the earlier text. The address on modern science led inevitably to the conclusion that Astronomy, Geology, Biology and other sciences have completely changed the static world that forms the physical background of the Bible and that is the basis of its figurative language. Huxley said that men of science found posted up all over the world which they were seeking to investigate, "No thoroughfare. By order. Moses."

With due recognition of the supreme place of the Bible in the literature and thought of the world, and with a life-long realization of its place in the affections of the Christian church, I am trying in this article to arrive at an interpretation of the Bible that will stand the test of modern scholarship and critical judgment and at the same time satisfy the cravings of the human heart for an abiding faith. There are certain questions that may serve to put the problem in concrete form: Is inspiration mechanical and literal, or is it spiritual? When we speak of the Bible, do we mean all of the Bible or the Bible within the Bible? Is every part of equal authority with every other? Did Moses or Abraham know as much about God as St. Paul, or did Isaiah know as much as St. John? Is the Bible as authoritative in science and history as in morals and religion, and is the religion of Judah as spiritual as that of Christianity? Is it the Word of God or does it contain the Word of God? And, finally, is it not necessary to make the teachings of Jesus the supreme test or standard by which all other teachings of the Bible shall be judged? It is especially this last question that is considered in the conclusion of the discussion. My primary object is to affirm the supremacy of Jesus.

When modern men began to study the Bible they found it fixed in language and interpretations. There was but one conception of inspiration, which was that inspiration extends to every chapter, verse, word, and syllable of the original scrip-

ture. The mind and mouth, the heart and hand, of the writers were guided in the least particular, and their utterances were therefore the very words of God. Every idea in the Bible was of equal authority with every other. Not only were the words inspired but tradition had established the authors of all the books, the times when they were written, and even the chronology which was definitely set down in the margins of the book. The Bible was therefore considered as a whole and not in parts; the only thing necessary for the reader to establish any point of view was to find a text, regardless of its context or of its relation to other parts of the book. The reformers of the 16th century had definitely broken with the static church, had maintained that the traditions of the fathers were no longer binding upon the minds and consciences of men, but they had substituted for this external authority an infallible book, no longer to be found in the Latin vulgate but in the languages of the reforming nations. Luther and Calvin both exercised the right of independent judgment in considering the books of the Bible—in some of their writings they anticipated the method of higher criticism—but in the main Protestantism was established on the “impregnable rock” of the Holy Scriptures.

When men began to study the Bible as they would study any other book they found inconsistencies, contradictions, and revelations of morals that did not coincide with the loftier teachings of Christianity. First in France, then in Germany, then in Great Britain, and finally in America, a succession of great scholars gave their attention to the study of the text, finding difficulty in many places in reconciling the versions of the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin, and the modern texts. Hence arose what is known as textual criticism, or as it is sometimes called, the “lower criticism.” Even so orthodox a thinker as Gladstone summarized the difficulties of arriving at a true text of the Bible in the light of the theory of verbal inspiration under the following heads:

- (1) Imperfect comprehension of that which was divinely communicated.
- (2) Imperfect expression of what had once been comprehended.

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- (3) Lapse of memory in oral transmission.
- (4) Errors of copyists in written transmission.
- (5) Changes with the lapse of time in the sense of words.
- (6) Variations arising from rendering in the different tongues, especially as between the Hebrew text and the Septuagint.
- (7) The fact that the inspired writers of the New Testament varied in the text they used for citations from the Old Testament and did not regard either the Hebrew or the Greek as of exclusive authority.
- (8) The three variant chronologies of the Old Testament found in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Penta-teuch.

I have not time in this paper to outline and illustrate the various points involved in textual criticism. Literally hundreds of scholars and experts have worked now for more than a century at this difficult task, and the end is not yet. The most significant result of this scholarship was the Revised Version of 1881 and 1885. Although this version lacks the literary style of the King James version, which was written at a time when the English language was in a more plastic state and when the minds of men were more in harmony with the style of the original, yet it is more accurate and clears up many obscure passages of the earlier version. It is a perilous business, especially for any one who holds to the infallibility of the Scriptures, to say just what is meant in certain texts of the Bible. Hebrew and Greek scholars do not hesitate to give versions of the Bible different from either of the other versions; and the work of freeing the book from the prejudices and allegorical interpretations of former translators will perhaps occupy the attention of scholars until the end of time. It would seem that, if the Bible was originally dictated or even inspired in the ordinary sense of that word by God, there would be found the same inspiration, the same divine guidance even as to the mechanical details, in preserving the original utterance unblemished and unimpaired by transmission or by translation.

Most people would agree that biblical scholars are entirely within their rights when they endeavor to establish a more and

more accurate text; but critical scholarship has gone much further in seeking to investigate the whole question of when the books were written, the points of view from which they were written, the historical accuracy of the subject matter, and the types of literature to which the books belong. In other words the principles of literary criticism that have been applied to all other books have been gradually applied to the Bible. The reader who goes from book to book of the Bible without any helpful interpretation will be impressed constantly with the difficulty of understanding what is actually meant in chapter after chapter. Take, for instance, the books that are classified as prophecies and attempt to read them through in the order in which they come. You pass from one to the other without any idea of the historical background or the author or the point of view from which he is writing. The years of these books in the order in which they are given are as follows: 740, 626, 59, 168, 745, 400, 760, 450, 700, 650, 600, 630, 520, 540 B. C.—a bewildering series of writings that need the same sort of interpretation that we give to any other collection of books. Now the scholar, such a scholar for instance as George Adam Smith, after calling to his aid all the resources of modern scholarship, gradually works out for us each of these books as a whole, as a separate whole; we understand the particular historical background under which the prophet lived, the particular message that he was giving to his people at a particular time, and the literary form which he used. The result is that in Dr. Smith's two volumes on the *Minor Prophets* and two on *Isaiah* we have books of exposition and of interpretation that are not surpassed in modern times.

An illustration of his method is his division of the book of *Isaiah*, as we generally have it, into two books written nearly two centuries apart. If an intelligent reader without any prejudice or prepossession were to read the first 39 chapters of *Isaiah* and then read the 40th and the succeeding chapters, he would be impressed by a totally different style, a totally different point of view and situation. The first prophet was dealing with the people of Israel while they were still in Jerusalem. For forty years he poured forth his soul in denunciation of their sins, in calling them to repentance, and in preparing them

for a coming crisis in their history. In 701 B. C., the Assyrian army was in camp about the city; it had swept into captivity the tribes of northern Israel, and seemed destined to capture or destroy the Holy City. In that supreme crisis the prophet, who had during his long period of teaching rallied to himself a remnant of the people and especially the King, rose to the height of his power in defying the Assyrian leader and in saving the City of David. This was one of the supreme achievements of history; for by preserving the city for a hundred years more the people of Judah were so filled with the spirit of the prophecy and with the Book of the Law, which was discovered a half century later, that when they did go into exile they carried with them a faith that could not be destroyed, whereas the northern tribes became the lost tribes.

Now the Prophet of the Exile, who begins to speak in the 40th chapter, had an entirely different work to do and a greater spiritual message to deliver. It was his work to comfort his people after fifty years of suffering, to awaken in them a new hope that they would return to the home of their fathers, to interpret for them the fatherhood of God in a sense that Israel had never before realized, and above all to inspire them with a desire to become Jehovah's ministering servants to all the nations of the earth. His words are among the most eloquent and lyrical in the whole range of literature. To interpret them in the light of the other book is to mistake entirely the meaning and the vision of the prophet.

Some would find no objection to such literary criticism of the Bible, although they would insist, perhaps, that when you magnify these human elements of time and circumstance you minimize the supernatural. But critical scholarship goes further than this. It does not hesitate to point out that there are two accounts of the Creation, two accounts of the Flood, two accounts of the conquest of Canaan; that in the historical books you have conflicting accounts of the reigns of the kings; that running all through the books of the Old Testament there are various biographical and historical details that do not fit into a consistent history of Israel; that some of these details are but a part of a fundamental difference due to the narratives being written on the one hand by the priestly class who wish always

to magnify civil and ceremonial law, and on the other hand by the prophetic writers who magnify the ethical and the spiritual. To be sure, some of the results of such linguistic and historical studies have been discounted by later scholars; it is a dangerous thing for a philologist or a pedant to attempt literary or religious interpretation, but while mistakes have occurred and theories have had to be abandoned, there are certain legitimate conclusions which are now widely accepted, not only by scholars but by preachers of evangelical fervor and spirit in all the Protestant churches.

A still more serious point, however, is that a critical study of the Bible involves morality and religion, although there are some who claim that it is a purely academic and intellectual problem. Dr. Washington Gladden has well summed up what is involved in accepting the interpretation of God as given in the early books of the Old Testament and especially in Judges and Joshua: "A long dark catalogue of crimes and wrongs can be traced directly to a misunderstanding of the true character of the Bible by men who believe themselves to be doing God's will. The murder of Servetus by the ministers of Geneva is explained by their erroneous view of the Bible. Since an infallible book justified the extermination of the Canaanites, it must be right, they argued, to exterminate heretics. The slaughter of witches by the thousand was the direct result of mistaken views about the Bible." Dr. Charles E. Jefferson finds that the German preachers and scholars justified the atrocities in Belgium by citing the Old Testament. He has in mind such passages as these in Joshua: "They utterly destroyed all that were in the city, both men and women, young and old, with the edge of the sword." And the explanation of the leader's conduct is in these words: "I heard the voice of God speaking in my soul, and God told me to do this." And again; "Joshua left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord God commanded." When David after passing through many sins for which he duly repented came to the end of his life he left this dying injunction to Solomon: "I did not kill Shemei, but you must. Thou wilt do what thou oughtest to do with him. Thou shall bring his hoar

head down to the grave with blood." Passages in such Psalms as the 58th, 68th, 137th, and 109th are the opposite of the teaching of Jesus, for they breathe the spirit of vengeance.

Now what is the way out of this difficulty? I cannot understand how any man can honestly face many incidents and passages in the Old Testament without trying to find a different solution than one of evasion, or refusing to think. I certainly cannot agree with those who maintain that those who do recognize these facts shall keep silent. Again I quote, not from a scholar but from a great preacher, who in answer to those who had criticized him for speaking the truth about the Bible, said: "The Bible is the book whose purpose it is to guide men into the truth; and we are saying under our breath that it is not safe to let men know the truth about the Bible. If there is one book in the world concerning which all men are entitled to know the truth and the whole truth that book is the Bible. If there is one book in the world concerning whose origin and character there must be no concealment, no deceit, no prevarication, that book is the Bible. Councils of cowardice in dealing with this book are an insult to the book and to the spirit of truth who speaks through it."

Is there not a way by which we can still maintain our interest and our faith in the Bible? It seems to me that there is only one way, and that is that we shall believe in the gradual unfolding of spiritual truth. In the Bible we have not an incomplete God nor an unworthy God, but men and women with human limitations and with the necessary restrictions of the period in which they lived, receiving as far as they could the revelation of God. To identify God—the God who revealed himself completely in Jesus—with the conceptions of a primitive people is to undermine religion. If we believe that God has always revealed himself in human life and that in a very particular sense he revealed himself to the peculiarly gifted Hebrew race, we must still see that his revelation was limited by the intellectual and moral nature of the people to whom he spoke. We have here, then, a perfectly reasonable solution of many difficult problems. It would be interesting, if space allowed, to trace the development of the idea of God: now a

sort of superman walking in the cool of the evening and talking with Adam, conversing and even eating with Abraham, or revealing himself in person to Moses amid the thunder and lightning of Sinai; now a tribal God marching in front of Israel's army, or a God of the early prophets interested only in one people, and then at last the God of the 53rd chapter of Isaiah, where we find the God of the whole world with infinite tenderness and love for all men, and especially for the weak and the suffering. Likewise we can trace the evolution of the conception of the Mesiiah, seen first as a prince, as a ruler, invested with material and political power, who would somehow raise Israel to a state of national prosperity, on through various stages until we come to the Prophet of the Exile, who in the sublimest passage of the Old Testament realizes a vision of one who was "despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief . . . wounded for our transgression, bruised for our iniquities . . . he shall see of the travail of his soul and shall be satisfied."

Whatever one may think of evolution as a scientific explanation of the origin of man, it is certainly the process by which men arrive at spiritual truth. In all the four types of literature found in the Old Testament—law, poetry, prophecy, and wisdom—there is a well defined development from age to age. The Levitical Code was not the revelation of a divine and eternal principle of worship; it was "the codification of ecclesiastical customs which had grown up through eight or nine centuries of Jewish life." Illustrations have already been cited to show the same development in the prophetic books; there was a growing sense of the place of Israel in the life of the world and a deeper consciousness of God as the God of the whole world, and of the Messiah as the spiritual rather than the political leader of the race. And likewise the Psalms were the Hebrew hymnbook in the sense that they were written over a period of many centuries and show an ever deepening spiritual experience and longing. Centuries elapse between the earliest written proverbs and the other books that constitute the Wisdom Literature. There was an evolution in the form from the single epigrams to the more lyrical passages on

Wisdom and to the more elaborate *Job* and *Ecclesiastes*, and the change is none the less great between the somewhat utilitarian teachings of the earlier era to the deeper spiritual anguish of *Job* on his ash-heap—a type of Israel in Exile.

II

Job, crying out to God to reveal himself in terms of human life, the High Priest carrying upon himself the burden of a congregation and in the Holy of Holies feeling after God, the Prophet of the Exile looking dimly into the future towards the suffering servant of Jehovah, and the Psalmist expressing the tragedy of an unfulfilled yearning towards God—all represent the incompleteness of the revelation of the Old Testament and at the same time bear witness to the glory and the fulness of the New Testament. "God, who fragmentarily and multifariously spoke unto the Fathers in the Prophets, has in these last days spoken unto us in his Son."

Here, then, is the goal towards which we have been moving—the Bible within the Bible, the climax of revelation, the personality, the teachings, the spirit of Jesus of Nazareth.

"Wanting was—
What?
Summer redundant,
Blueness abundant,
Where is the blot?
Beamy the world, yet a blank all the same,
Framework which waits for a picture to frame.
Come then, complete incompleteness, O come,
Pant through the blueness, perfect the summer!
Breathe but one breath,
Rose beauty—above,
And all that was death
Grows life, grows love,
Grows love!"

In the beginning was the eternal Power, the eternal Mind, the eternal Spirit. In the beginning also was the Word, and this Word, this attribute of God that reveals truth to man, shone upon the souls of men—it came to Abraham, to Moses, to David, to Isaiah, to the author of *Job*, to the Prophet of the

Exile, yes, and to Socrates and Plato and Phidias, and to the builders of the Parthenon, and to Buddha and Confucius. But the Word had not been fully understood.

"Our little systems have their day;
They have their day and cease to be;
They are but broken gleams of Thee,
And Thou, O Lord, art more than they."

The light shineth in darkness but men see thru the glass darkly. And then the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us. And the full light began to shine on the marriage of Cana, on the leader of Israel, on the woman of Samaria, on the sick and diseased, the hungry and the poor; there were no lightnings, no thunders, no magic, no forms or ceremonies, no dogma. "Come and see" and "follow me" were His only commands to man.

Seemingly He failed; the light was overcome by the darkness. And why? We cannot read the record without seeing that the chief cause of His seeming failure and His death was legalism, the traditionalism of the Scribes and Pharisees, who followed Him from place to place, confronting Him with the rolls of scriptures—the law and the prophets as interpreted by their rabbis. The saddest cry that ever came from His lips, except that in Gethsemane and on the Cross, was "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem . . . and thou wouldst not." The city of David and of Isaiah rejected Him. He found solidly arrayed against Him the traditional religion of His race. Even His Apostles were always confronting Him with a prophecy that did not seem to foretell Him, or with the law of Moses that He had violated.

If, as He often said, He came not to destroy but to fulfill, He was also the first critic of the Old Testament. As George Adam Smith has well said: "He expounded the law, but He extended it far beyond the literal meaning. Sometimes He reversed the law, as for instance, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' He touched the leper and did not feel unclean." He broke the laws of the Sabbath out of love for man. He left no command about sacrifices or temple worship, He said to his disciples "The law and the prophets were till

John; from that time the kingdom of Heaven did come." James and John, irritated by the lack of hospitality among the Samaritans, wished to call down lightning on their heads and homes, saying, "Lord, wilt Thou that we command fire to come down from Heaven and consume them, even as Elijah did?" but He turned and rebuked them, saying "You know not what spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man came not to destroy men's lives but to save them."

To those who were always asking that He do some wonderful thing, He said: "Unless ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe," just as He said to Satan, when He was tempted to adopt magic as one of the instruments of his kingdom, "Get thee behind me." With the woman of Samaria He broke down all national and social lines, when He said: "The hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. The hour cometh and now is, when the true worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; God is a spirit and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." To those who sought to reduce life to a strict moral code or to make religion identical with morality in the narrower sense of that word, He said, "I have come that ye might have life, and have it more abundantly." To men who had seen him reveal the love of God in scores of incidents and who had seen him living everywhere and at all times the unselfish and the sacrificial life and who still did not know God, He said, with a sublime confidence, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." To his Apostles, who were sad at his going away, who had never learned from their prophets and wise men to look beyond the grave, He uttered those words of comfort and consolation: "In my Father's house are many mansions. I go to prepare a place for you that where I am ye may be also." To those who even after his death were to try to restrict the blessings of his gospel to the Jewish people, or to bind the Gentiles by the law, or who were under the bondage of social and national prejudice, He uttered his command, "Go ye into all the world and teach all nations." To those who were inclined to make religion complex and mysterious, magical and formal, He said,

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy might, with all thy mind, and with all thy heart; and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." And yet again, to those who either then or thereafter were to make an ecclesiastical system the basis of personal power and worldly splendor, and who were to surround the church with the pomp and circumstance of the world, or to those individuals who were to base their lives upon pagan principles, He said, "He that is greatest among you, let him minister unto others," and, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto these, ye did it unto me."

And at the last, when He knew that all his words could not be given to men, and that other generations would make new applications of his spirit, He definitely separated himself from all those who would make out of his ideas a prison-house within which to enclose the growing spirit of man. How far removed He was from all makers of static systems and creeds, when He said: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. However, when the spirit of truth is come, He will guide you into all truth." Compassing in one sentence the whole future progress of man in science, in art, in government, and in religion, he said, "Greater things than these shall ye do." Not the least essential point in his wisdom was that He did not seek to bind the souls and consciences of men by applying any formulæ to conditions in politics, in industry, and in social life that were to arise in the coming centuries; He meant that his spirit should prevail.

I had never before realized so vividly the significance of these sayings, as when early one Sunday morning last summer, alone in my home, I read for nearly five hours three of the Gospels, closing with the Gospel of St. John. It was a wonderful dawn that greeted me as I looked from my windows; the lovely campus never seemed more serene and beautiful, for the leaves and flowers of spring had not yet been burned with the breath of summer winds. The whole world seemed appareled in celestial light that illuminated the pages of this greater revelation of God. I purposely put out of my mind every thing that men had ever said about Jesus, every creed

that was made centuries after his death, every traditional interpretation of him and his word, even St. Paul's, and read as attentively and intelligently as I could the incidents of His life and the words that He spoke. With all that I had hitherto read of Palestine, of oriental life and customs, and of the age in which He lived, and with the aid of an imagination nourished, I hope, by years of reading in other literatures, I reproduced Him, I saw Him, I heard Him. Never man spoke like this man, I exclaimed, as I read His beautiful figures, His parables, His beatitudes, and the Sermon on the Mount, all glowing with supernal beauty of phrase and structure. Beauty and truth, no longer separated, lived together; thoughts that breathe and words that burn expressed in matchless form! God and man no longer separated by a chasm of dialectics and metaphysics, but God still transcendent and yet imminent in One, in Whom there was no reflection, no refraction, no obstruction. Jesus was God's pattern of man, what He had in mind when He projected the great adventure of a humanity that might thru all ignorance and sin, thru all evolution and retrogression, reach that ultimate goal towards which all creation moves. In the same personality were answered those two questions that lie at the basis of all philosophies and theologies: What is man? and What is God? With a sublime confidence in his mission, as the builder of a new religion, he said, "I am the Way, the Truth, the Light," and "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father."

As I finished reading, there came to my mind the words of Sidney Lanier's "The Crystal," in which the poet characterizes with rare felicity a score or more of the great men of history, each of them with some defect, some flaw, none with total luster blazing, and all asking some sweet forgiveness:

"But Thee, but Thee, O sovereign Seer of Time,
But Thee, O poet's Poet, Wisdom's Tongue,
But Thou, O Man's best Man, O Love's best Love,
O perfect life in perfect labor writ,
O all men's comrade, Servant, King, or Priest,—
What *if* or *yet*, what mole, what flaw, what lapse,
What least defect or shadow of defect,
What rumor, tattled by an enemy

Of inference loose, what lack of grace
Even in torture's grasp, or sleep's or death's,—
O, what amiss may I forgive in Thee,
Jesus, good Paragon, thou Crystal Christ?"

All this I felt and thought that Sunday morning of last summer. A few Sunday mornings since, I had another interesting experience. Without leaving my house, I read all of a winter's day a book of which I had heard much during the past year—*The Reconstruction of Religion*, by Charles A. Ellwood, Professor of Social Science in the University of Missouri. It is the most searching and most comprehensive analysis of contemporary conditions and tendencies that I have encountered. Here I found no Pollyanna optimism, no "glad hand" gospel, but rather a straightforward, scientific facing of facts in the political, social, and religious life of our time. The central theme of the book is that the only basis of faith in this weary, disillusioned, hysterical world is a vital faith in the personality and teachings of Jesus Christ. The opening paragraph is the key to the entire volume:

"A new reformation is necessary within the Christian church if it is to survive, besides which the Protestant Reformation will seem insignificant. Either some new form of Christianity or sheer atheism will soon become dominant in the more advanced nations . . . We shall have either radical irreligion or some more socialized and rationalized form of the religion of Jesus than has yet been attained. The fundamental principles of Christianity are in harmony with the fundamental principles of social science . . . The world needs to acknowledge anew the leadership of Jesus, and this means that we need a rebirth of Christianity in the sense of the religion of Jesus . . . The vision which Jesus had of a social life based upon love or good will is not an unrealizable dream. It is the only possible social future, if the world is not going to turn back to barbarism. Men have never intelligently tried to realize it in their social life. Instead, they have been satisfied with various cheap substitutes in the form of theological beliefs which have directed their attention from the true problem of the religious life, or with formal pretensions which have thinly disguised the underlying paganism."

These words uttered by some men would seem almost like cant; they would be greeted with hearty "Amens" in any congregation or in any church conference. But they mean far

more than they seem to mean. Mark Twain said as he studied the cathedrals of Europe that the points of emphasis in the Catholic church seemed to be in the following order: (1) The Church, (2) The Virgin Mary, (3) The Fathers of the Church, (4) The Saints, (5) The Creed, (6) The Bible, (7) God, and (8) Christ. He might have added, Christ as interpreted by and in light of the first six elements. Christ has not had a chance; He has been obscured by the clouds and the mists of superstition, by legalism and formalism, and by a false interpretation of the Bible.

If this study means anything, it means that modern biblical criticism, as made possible by patient and fearless scholars and as interpreted by prophets of religion, has given us the basis at last of a right interpretation of the Bible, and consequently a right interpretation of Christianity. We can never—despite all the sophistries of demagogues and the thunderings and lightnings of synods and conventions,—put the world back into the molds of a former age. We can rally men to this new standard of Jesus, emancipated from traditional interpretation. The armies of a reorganized church may be led by spiritual captains under the standard of the living Christ.

Heredity and Genius

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The fundamental interest of mankind has ever been, and evermore is, destined to be the parental one. No other strikes so deep a root in the mind and heart of man—none plays its threads so intimately into the warp of human motive. It is the fount and spring of all that is best in civilization. To it our noblest institutions trace back their reason for being, and the recurring movements for larger social and industrial freedom draw from that source their tidal flow and strength.

Yet the babe, mightiest of our potentates, is none the less the profoundest of our mysteries. He is the one thing in creation that defies analysis and sets at naught all prophecy. We know the laws of the huge orbs that far beyond the range of eye boom through space. The atom, too, is not so small, nor the blazing comet so swift, that we have not drawn from them the secrets of their constitution. But this rosy efflorescence of the human seed-cell makes all our knowledge cheap. His nature is a guess, his destiny a sealed book.

It is only within the past few years that the complexity of the problems bound up in the nature of the human infant have been adequately brought home to our thought. [The evolutionists taught us that his faculties and instincts were a legacy from all the ages,] and the eugenists have made this truth dynamic and charged it with a power to mold life and morals.

In earlier papers, published in the *Popular Science Monthly* for November 1907, December 1910, February 1911, and September 1912, and in the *Open Court* for December 1920, the present writer has dealt with the relation to genius, as determined by biography, of the structure and color of the hair and of physiognomy, longevity and stature, as well as fertility upon the part of the parents. In the present paper it is his purpose to deal by the same method, but upon the basis of wider data, with the question that lies at the root of the eugenics movement and forms its inspiration—the inheritance of talent.

(Are the characteristics that make for greatness acquired or are they derived from the ancestral line?) Have our celebrated men and women been scions, for the most part, of distinguished families or offshoots of lowly stocks? Does genius abide chiefly in households smiled upon by fame and fortune or does it love the dwellings of the humble, where necessity supplies the spur to effort and achievement?

An investigation of this kind, it is plain, assumes two preliminaries—one a large and carefully chosen list of names, and the other a plan of classification for the data that is gathered. Formerly, the painful labor of sifting from the chaos of universal biography a table of names sufficiently large and representative gave pause to the student of biography who had to do with the statistical side of his subject, and it is a matter of felicitation to the worker in this field that the forbidding task of gathering the initial list of names has been performed for him.

Far less difficult, though no less important, is the task of finding some plan of classification for the data obtained that will best serve the uses of study and analysis. Any one of many differing methods might find arguments in its favor. In default, however, of a plan which seemed better, we have divided our names into two leading classes—those of obscure and those of distinguished or noteworthy ancestries, including among the former those who were children of ministers, lawyers, physicians and schoolmasters without special prominence, and in the latter class including those of noble descent and those whose progenitors held positions in society indicative of talent. The wisdom of this division may be subject to question, but in what seemed the necessity of separating the names into two chief classes this method appeared to the writer a fairly satisfactory one for tabulating the results.

It needs to be said that we have not included in the list of those with noteworthy ancestries men and women who had brothers or sisters or children of eminence, preferring to rank those with the obscure ancestries, though the circumstance might in reality be accepted as a token that a strain of talent lay in the family stock. It might be urged also that in lands and during periods when conditions for entrance into the

learned professions were peculiarly strict the fact of a career, though unrecorded by history, in law, medicine or divinity should place the individual among those with noteworthy ancestors, but we have preferred to set this consideration aside and range those names, too, with the obscure.

Adopting, then, as our basis for work Professor J. McKeen Cattell's list of the world's thousand most famous individuals, as published in the *Popular Science Monthly* for February, 1903, and employing as our authorities in this investigation the latest edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, with the biographical section of a public library situated in the city of the writer's residence, we find that no less than 510 of these personages were of noteworthy, and only 298 of obscure, descent. As to 191 names, no data was afforded by the authorities consulted, and as to one name—Raspail, a distinguished French chemist—we are wholly without biographical material, as the name, strangely enough, does not appear in the encyclopedia in question.

If we add to the list of those who were of noteworthy ancestry the names of the men and women who were children of parents belonging to professions requiring intellectual capacity, we increase the number to 584, for of those ranged with the obscure derivations, 30 were children of ministers of religion, 11 of musicians, 5 of sculptors and painters, 4 of physicians, 11 of lawyers, 4 of government clerks, 3 of notaries in a day when the duties of notaries differed widely from those of modern officials of the name, 2 of scribes and 4 of schoolmasters. So, too, if it be just to add to the larger table of names those who were the children of "rich" or "well to do" parents, though without other mark of capacity, we may enlarge the number in that list to 610 names. Of those remaining still in the list of obscure ancestries, 26 were the children of merchants, of whom no few were of more than ordinary mark, if only in a talent for affairs; but these we retain among the obscure.

These tabulations are of no mean significance. It is of more than passing moment that so many of fame's elect could boast with a just pride of a distinguished or notable pedigree. Well might the eugenicist be heartened in the large hopes he

cherishes for humanity from a systematic race-culture if the message which these figures carry upon their face could be accepted without deduction.

So far as shown by our data, 14 in the list of a thousand were children of "farmers," 5 were children of peasants, 49 of artisans in the various skilled handicrafts, 5 of sailors and one was the child of a laborer. The butcher, whose business has always been a dubious one in the eyes of humanity, can claim the parentage of only two distinguished individuals.

It is thus plain that the number of ancestries in the list of a thousand which were of a character likely to exclude the idea of ability beyond the ordinary are few—but 76, including the skilled artisans, the propriety of whose presence in this humble list is subject to serious question. It is to be remembered, however, that of the 192 as to whose extraction no information was available, many, perhaps the most, sprang from obscure lines, nor is it to be overlooked that among those mentioned as of distinguished ancestry, 106 belonged to royal families, and were therefore of a special class; but with all allowance made for these considerations the figures are sufficiently remarkable. It might seem that the eugenists had made their case and that the voice of universal biography acclaims them true prophets.

Hasty generalization is, however, always dangerous. It may not be true that talent is transmitted from parent to child nor may it be safe to say that the children of the lowly and uncultured lack the root of genius in their natures. May it not be that the caste system, from which America has always been free, and which only during the past few generations has loosened its hold upon the social and intellectual life of Europe, is the responsible factor in the large number of ancestries which were noble or distinguished? Is it not more than possible that the native genius of the toiling classes was merely denied an avenue of expression in the social and industrial life which was a heritage from the feudal ages, and that had the doors of opportunity opened as freely in Europe as they have opened in our own country during all its history, the results of our research might have been far different?

As inquiry into the ancestries of the Americans in Professor Cattell's table of names, and into those of all countries during

the nineteenth century, lends no small semblance of plausibility to such a theory. Thus, of the 31 Americans in the thousand, 17 were of obscure parentage, and only 9 were of noteworthy descent, the remaining 5 being those as to whom no information was afforded by our authorities. So, of the 65 in the thousand born during the nineteenth century, 28 were of obscure and 27 of distinguished ancestry, while as to ten no data appears; though in connection with these figures it is important to remember that of the 65 no less than 17 were Americans—a startling proportion, be it remarked, and a significant token of our leap forward to greatness among the peoples of the earth.

Something like the same conclusions might be worked out of the figures as to the ancestries of the individuals in the thousand connected with the ministry of religion—the one profession in the gloomier ages to which access was measurably possible from the lower walks; for of the 105 individuals thus connected with religion—a considerable proportion of the whole—32 were of obscure and only 42 of distinguished birth, while as to no less than 31 we are without information.

Yet all this taken together is scarcely enough quite to destroy the conclusion one draws from our data as a whole, that genius abides chiefly with the social classes already favored by fame and fortune. Even of the 65 born in the nineteenth century, only 2 were children of farmers, one was the child of a barber, 5 were the children of artisans and three of sea-faring men, while of the remaining, 2 were descendants of rulers, 2 of government clerks, one of a literary man, 8 of military men, one of a philosopher, 5 of clergymen, 4 of merchants, 2 of statesmen, 3 of physicians, 2 of manufacturers, 2 of lawyers, 5 were of miscellaneous origin and as to 17 no data is given. (The idea seems still to press in upon us that the child of the parent in the easier spheres of life enters upon existence with a far higher chance of gaining a place in history's annals.)

The query, however, presents itself whether this arises from an inheritance by the child of the parent's talent, as Galton perhaps would have insisted, or whether it springs from the larger opportunities possible to a child of a talented parent and the more favorable conditions for the development of his native

powers. A discriminating glance into the pedigrees of our subjects, and a comparison of the vocation of the parent with that of the offspring, discovers some very curious and interesting statistics.

Of the 39 individuals in the thousand who were sons of clergymen, 6 became poets, 7 miscellaneous prose writers, 2 historians, 7 philosophers, one a military figure, 4 scientists, 7 clergymen, 2 physicians, one a painter, one a lawyer, one a nun, leaving no name to represent the professions of music and acting. Of the 36 individuals who were the sons of lawyers, 8 became statesmen, 2 revolutionists, 5 poets, 2 painters, 5 miscellaneous prose writers, 2 jurists, 2 generals, 2 historians, 2 physicians, 2 novelists, one a scientist, one a navigator, one a clergyman, one Lord Chancellor of England, leaving no name to represent the professions of music and acting. Of the thirteen who were the sons of musical parents, one became a scientist, 4 musicians and musical composers, 3 painters, one a poet, 3 miscellaneous prose writers, one a jurist, but none became philosophers, statesmen, military generals or actors. Of the 11 who were the sons of physicians, 2 became physicians, one a poet, 2 philosophers, 2 patriots and revolutionists, one a physiologist and anatomist, one a painter, one President of the Greek Republic, one a novelist and none became a musician or an actor.

Of the 43 who were the sons of military men, 2 became scientists, 2 philosophers, 9 military men, one the founder of Pennsylvania, one a mathematician, 8 kings and rulers, 5 novelists, 4 statesmen, 2 clergymen, 2 painters, one a musician, 2 poets, one a miscellaneous prose writer, 2 actors, one a conspirator and political theorist.

The large place of the military in the ancestries of the world's eminent men and women needs little explanation, perhaps, seeing the conspicuous place held by the profession of arms in the history of mankind. Yet it is not without significance that even among the 65 celebrated men of the nineteenth century, eight—quite as large a proportion—were children of military officers, and the question suggests itself whether the martial profession does not make an appeal chiefly to men who can transmit the characteristics that make for greatness. Seeing

the long period of enforced absence from home, the influence upon the child of association with the parent would seem to be appreciably less in the case of this class than in the case of any other.

Of the 68 who were the sons of artisans, 8 became poets, 6 philosophers, 3 military men, 2 navigators, one a diplomat, 9 painters, 2 scientists, 2 historians, 2 rulers, one a political writer, 6 miscellaneous writers, 3 statesmen, 2 orators, one a religious reformer, 2 musical composers, one a financier, one a pope, one a theologian, 2 novelists, one a Girondist, 7 clergymen, one a revolutionist, one a jurisconsult, one an archeologist, one a legal reformer and one a monk.

But rarely, it seems, in our statistics, does the son pursue the father's vocation. On the contrary, the genius of the son chooses usually quite another field. Very difficult would it be to predict from the talents of the ancestor the precise line of endeavor in which the son should achieve greatness, so small is the impress upon the tastes and tendencies of the child which results from the parent's devotion to a special pursuit.

Yet certain general truths seem to peer out from these statistics. Thus, parents whose talents were purely intellectual seldom begot children whose greatness lay purely in the domain of the esthetic. The eighty-six ancestors who were clergymen, physicians and lawyers gave no musician to the world, nor man or woman of histrionic genius, and but three painters. Their children attained distinction, like the parents, in the realm of the purely intellectual. Of those, on the other hand, who were the children of musicians and persons of musical ability, no less than seven achieved distinction in the domains of music and painting.

Of the 41 who were the children of military characters, two were painters and one was a musician. Perhaps in the military nature there is larger imagination than in that of the clergyman, the lawyer and the physician—a view which may find confirmation in the usual number of novelists who were the sons of generals. Of the 68, moreover, who were the children of artisans, involving as the vocation of the artisan does a skilled use of the eye and hand, no less than nine became painters and two became musical composers. To what element in the artisan

nature shall we ascribe the faculty that lends itself to esthetic greatness in their children? Does pre-occupation with the skilled work of the hands through a chain of generations build up within the deeps of being a capacity for the artistic, or is there here a subtle process of selection by which those with a transmittable talent of hand and eye are drawn into the manual crafts? The field is a wide one for conjecture and speculation.

It is true, of course, as observed by the editor of *Scientific American Supplement*, that in the discussion of such problems as those which have formed the subject of this paper, we cannot ignore the magnitude in numbers of the several divisions of society relatively to the population as a whole. That criticism upon the statistical data contained in this paper, as such data was published in the *Scientific American Supplement* for September 6th, 1913, is undeniably just. The factor in question, indeed, is considered by Mr. Havelock Ellis in his statistical studies of British genius. Our investigations, however, be it remarked, embrace the genus of the world and of all historic time. As to a single nation, here and there fairly dependable information exists as regards the percentage of population forming the various divisions of society in the several ages. The like is not true of the world at large.

We incline to believe that with so large a catalogue of names as that we have used, and with the methods of sifting the results we have employed, the element in the problem suggested by the editor of the *Scientific American Supplement* is of much less importance than would otherwise be the case. With the data in hand, moreover, as to the numerical proportions of the several social classes in a single country, such as England, we cannot go far wrong in assuming the same general average for all nations. The nineteenth century, in any case, seeing the revolutionary social changes which have marked that page in the world's annals, would call for separate treatment.

A study of the chapter upon the social classes from which eminent men and women of England have sprung, as contained in the remarkable work of Havelock Ellis, *A Study of British Genius*, leads to conclusions much the same as those resulting from a study of genius at large. The tabulations of Ellis

might, with few changes, answer for our own upon the broader basis of the world's genius, though the fine work of Ellis was not accessible when our data was classified and the tentative conclusions published in the *Scientific American Supplement*. There, as here, notwithstanding the somewhat different methods of classification, we have the emphasis upon the large place of the clergy, the military, and the skilled handicrafts, in the production of genius. In those statistics, as in our own, artists, whether poetic, pictorial or histrionic, have come in a marked degree from the artisan or craftsman class and rarely from the others. The general truth, also, that genius has haunted the households of the middle and higher classes, and has shunned the more populous lower classes, emerges from the work of Ellis as to British names, and the interesting contrast of the nineteenth century with the earlier eras is only less marked in the tabulations of Ellis than in our own.

Of the 829 names of eminent British men and women with which Ellis deals, 18.5 came from the upper classes or from "good families"; 6 from yeomen and farmers, whom he ranks next; 16.7 from the church; 7.1 from the law; 4.2 from the army; 1.9 from the navy and the sea; 3.6 from medicine; 7.8 from miscellaneous professions, and 3.2 from officials, clerks, etc., while from the commercial classes there arose 18.8 of British genius, 9.2 from crafts (designated as "artisans" in our tabulations) and 2.5 from laborers and the unskilled generally, classified by Ellis as "artisans" by way of distinction from "craftsmen" or skilled handworkers. For the purpose of throwing his conclusions into clearer light the distinguished English investigator sets beside his figures the analysis of the general population of Great Britain as announced by the Anthropological Committee of the British Association: Professional classes 4.6, commercial classes 10.36, industrial classes 10.90, artisans 26.82 and laborers 47.46.

The proportion of the clergy and ministers of religion generally who are responsible for British genius is described by Ellis as "enormous," 16.7 as we have seen, and a much larger percentage, therefore, than in the case of our figures. "In mere number," says Ellis, "the clergy can seldom have equalled the butchers or bakers in their parishes, yet only two butchers

and four bakers are definitely ascertained to have produced eminent children as against 139 parsons. Even if we compare the church with the other professions with which it is most usually classed we find that the eminent children of the clergy considerably outnumber those of lawyers, doctors and army officers put together."

It is noteworthy that when Ellis came to consider the more recent arrivals among the eminent of Great Britain, eighty-one in number, as represented by those who had died pending the production of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and whose names therefore appeared in the supplement to that work, the percentage of the church fell from 16.7 per cent to under 14 per cent, while the commercial class rose from 18.8 per cent to 22 per cent. Our data, on the other hand, embracing the genius of the world at large, shows a marked increase of percentage for clergymen and ministers of religion. It might seem that the British clergy have held a unique place as compared with their fellows on the continent and that in the "transformation of the lives of the clergy" wrought by "the religious movements of the past century," as mentioned by Ellis, the English ministers of religion have fallen away from an extraordinarily high position and that those of the rest of the world have gained.

We have seen that of the sixty-eight men of genius in our catalogue of names who were the sons of artisans (synonymous with "craftsmen" in the figures of Ellis), no less than nine were painters. The same phenomenon presents itself to us in the tabulations of Ellis. "We find a very notable predominance of craftsmen in the parentage of painters, to such extent indeed that while craftsmen only constitute 9.2 among the fathers of our eminent persons generally they constitute nearly thirty-five per cent among the fathers of painters and sculptors."

It is difficult to escape the conclusion, as Ellis justly remarks, that "there is a real connection between the father's aptitude for craftsmanship and the son's aptitude for art." The influence of environment cannot avail us as an explanation nor can we account for the circumstance on any theory of the inheritance of acquired characteristics. We are driven to the hypothesis—one which Ellis regards as all sufficient to account for the phenomenon—that only those possessed of a native and trans-

mittable genius for handiwork can remain successfully in the crafts, and that consequently, by a law of natural selection, there are gathered up into the body of skilled handworkers those individuals whose artistic faculty is not acquired but hereditary.

In the case of actors and actresses Ellis found his conclusions as applied to the group of names as a whole completely reversed. "While good social class and leisurely cultivated life among the parents would seem on the whole to be of decided advantage for the production of eminent offspring, among actors and actresses low and obscure birth would seem to be a positive advantage."

It is a notable circumstance that in our data covering the genius of the world, no actor or actress was the descendant of a clergyman, a physician, a lawyer or a musician, while among the 43 men of genius who were the sons of military figures only two became actors and the like number is found among the 68 men of genius who were the sons of skilled handworkers. It is evident that in our data as in that of Ellis men and women of histrionic genius have been derived almost exclusively from the humblest orders of society, the class of peasant farmers, unskilled laborers and the like.

The Literal Acceptance of Stage Illusion

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It is an interesting comment on playhouse realism that, whereas theatrical people are repeatedly urging the desirability of complete stage illusion, still most of the cases where such illusion may be called thoroughly successful are preserved as jokes by these same people; for there is no commoner theatrical jest than that which has to do with the audience accepting as actual occurrences the incidents which take place on the stage. Most of us who in early years insisted on reading certain types of literature not recommended in college courses recall stories of the honest rustic who rewarded the villain of his first melodrama with plain talk and fisticuffs or of the natural gentleman from the West who sought to punish stage seduction with pistol shots. Such stories have been employed in somewhat less extravagant form since the time of Shakspeare or even earlier. They have appeared in such famous novels as Fielding's *Tom Jones*; they have been utilized by English dramatists from the time of Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucres*; they have been told and re-told in the jest books of the centuries; they have occurred with suspicious regularity in the lives of actors and in the books and pamphlets devoted to acting and the stage. Whereas many of these anecdotes are obviously the pure creations of literary men or the authors of theatrical "puffs," or arose in consequence of the widespread trick of "planting" actors in the audience to serve in the capacity of over-excited and unduly impressed spectators, nevertheless some of them are unquestionably founded on fact.

Among this latter sort are some of the accounts of children at their first play. The intensely vivid impression left by such an occurrence on the child mind is of course well known, and has been emphasized for generations in the arguments of both friends and enemies of the stage. Numerous literary men writing late in life—for example, Robert Willis, Sergeant Talfourd, Dickens, and Ifland—have given most interesting and detailed accounts of the impression left by their first play, while

many an actor has testified that the whole course of his life was determined by his first visit to the playhouse. Quite naturally under such circumstances children have often accepted stage illusion as literal truth; and various prominent men have recorded their behavior on such occasions. Joe Cowell, the eminent comedian, wrote a gossip book in which he described his conduct at his first drama—*Hamlet* acted on a makeshift stage in a country mansion. At that particular time young Joe was contemplating the life of a sailor; so naturally when the melancholy Prince, looking straight at the boy, pronounced the words

"Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune
Or to take up arms against a sea of troubles,"

the eager spectator sought to aid him in his perplexity by volunteering the advice, "If I were you I'd go to sea." John Taylor in his entertaining *Records of My Life* relates that when, at the age of seven, he witnessed the afterpiece of *Hob in the Well* he arose from his seat in the pit and excitedly informed the anxious parents as to the whereabouts of their missing son. No doubt most of us have heard as interesting information given by children at their first play, but I question if many of us have been present when so eminent a person as that described by John Bernard in his *Retrospections of the Stage* "first attracted the public." While acting in Plymouth, writes Bernard, he frequently dined with the printer Benjamin Haydon when his son, later the celebrated artist B. R. Haydon, was a bright little fellow of ten. After a very pleasant dinner with Haydon, the actor appeared one evening as Sharp in *The Lying Valet*; and on his repeating the words, "I had nothing to eat since last Monday was a fortnight," young Benjamin revealed that downright spirit which was later to involve him in much needless controversy. Arising indignantly in a stage box, he denounced the actor in a tone everywhere audible: "What a whopper! Why, you dined at my father's this afternoon." Sir Walter Scott was guilty of a similar childish outburst when he witnessed for the first time the quarrel between the brothers in *As You Like It*.

Savages, like children, have conducted themselves strangely at the play. Among the more interesting accounts of their literal acceptance of stage events are Ludlow's story of the band of Sioux who, at a performance of the very spectacular *Der Freischütz* at St. Louis in 1837, would have been frightened from the house by the lightning and flying spirits had they not been forcibly detained, and the frequently told anecdote of the Indian delegates who were so affected by Edwin Forrests' acting in *Metamora* that they rose solemnly in the last act and chanted a dirge in honor of the fallen chieftain. Not so convincing is Walter Lacy's account of how a band of savages became so excited at the scalping of a character in *The Ojibbeway Indians* that, uttering a war-whoop, they prepared to rush upon the stage but suddenly burst into laughter on observing that only the wig was removed from the head of the low comedy victim.

Of the host of anecdotes told of literal-minded adults displaying a simplicity comparable to that of children and savages many depend for their point on a failure to distinguish the actor from the man. Of the various stories of this type one of the best is also one of the oldest—Francis Kirkman's account of the master-smith in an English village who was so impressed by Robert Coxe's acting in the old droll of *Simpleton the Smith* that he sought out the actor at the end of the performance and remarked as follows: "Well, although your father speaks so ill of you, yet when the fair is done, if you will come and work with me, I will give you twelve pence a week more than I give any other journey-man." James Fennell's story of his experience at Annapolis early in the last century reveals the fact that an early American rustic was no less credulous than this seventeenth century Briton. The American, declares Fennell, was so taken by his acting of Othello that he vowed he had never seen a negro display such marked intelligence and sought to purchase the ingenious black from the theatrical manager at an exceptionally fancy price. Somewhat different is the anecdote of the English grazier who, taking literally Richard III's statement that he would give his horse for a kingdom, waited on the king the next morning and informed his majesty that if he

was still in a trading humor he could be supplied at once with a suitable animal. In another version the countryman does not wait until morning to accept Richard's very liberal offer.

If we can trust the statement of Robert Dyer, information very similar to that frequently volunteered by children at the play has been furnished by naive grown-ups to inquisitive actors; for he writes that when Frederick in *Lover's Vows* inquired if there was a doctor in the village, a kindly native assured him that a horse-doctor by the name of Parfit lived in the edge of town. A London Jew is credited with a more sensational reply to an actor's query. "For days, for months, oh! for years I have been in search of my father," exclaimed John Braham, the great Jewish singer, as he entered a country inn in a highly sentimental piece and recognized the landlord as his sire. "No, I tell thee no; I am not thy father," replied the landlord to the tramp's insistence that voice, look, and figure all resembled those of the long-lost parent. "Heaven protect me! Who, tell me, who is my father?" wailed Braham in despair; and immediately an excited inhabitant of the Jewish quarter, who was acquainted with Braham's past, responded: "I knowed yer fader well. His name was Abey Punch." All these stories sound as if they arose as the result of a successful use of the "planted" actor. Even more suspicious is Sol Smith's account of the acting of *Three Weeks After Marriage* at Montgomery, Alabama, in 1835, when, during the well-known card game between Sir Charles and his wife, a dignified elderly man arose from his seat in the orchestra and expressed his distaste at witnessing such a domestic scene. "Young people," he urged as a parting bit of advice, "you'd better make up that little difficulty and let the play go on; it's of mighty little consequence what was trumps; make it up and go to bed." The same writer is responsible for two more anecdotes of a very similar nature: the story of the Kentucky gentleman who advised an actor in the last scene of *The Stranger* to forgive the wanton wife; and the account of the Alabama philanthropist who suggested solemnly that a collection be taken up to help the starving family of Germaine in the old play called *The Gambler's Fate*.

Another phase of the literal-mindedness illustrated above is the tendency—strong among the Puritans even until the present day—to associate foppishness and villainy with the realistic impersonator of those vices. Everybody, I suppose, has heard the very suspicious anecdote of the Litchfield grocer who returned to his home after seeing David Garrick in the rôle of Abel Drugger and informed Garrick's brother and the boyhood friends of the great actor that Davy had degenerated into a foppish rascal since he moved up to London and was unworthy of any further admiration. Garrick is said to have acted this same Abel Drugger so well in his early days as to cure forever the affection of a young girl who had fallen in love with him on account of his portrayal of the gallant Charmont and Lothario. A somewhat similar story is told of an old lady who was so charmed by Edmund Kean's acting of heroic parts that she willed him a considerable part of her property, but altered her will in favor of a distant relative on witnessing the villainy of which Kean was capable as Luke in Sir John Burgess's adaptation of Massinger's *City Madam*. An instance of how such anecdotes have survived to the present day is Hopkinson Smith's version of an actor who, on visiting his home town, remembered an old family negro by giving him and his wife tickets to a play in which the actor appeared in a very unfavorable light. He was rewarded for his kindness by receiving from the old darky a severe reprimand for having disgraced all traditions of the family by becoming involved in such dishonorable practices.

Among the host of instances of literal-mindedness a considerable number have to do with the very commendable love of justice and fair play which we are accustomed to associate with the old-fashioned unsophisticated Englishman and his descendants. That this very fine member of society was accustomed to raise his voice against stage oppression and villainy even in the days of Shakspeare is made probable by the words of the leading character in the very diverting *Life of a Satyirical Puppy Called Nim* (1657). Describing his experiences at the famous Blackfriars Theater, Nim writes: "Two Acts were finished before I could discover any thing, either for my Comfort then, or worth my relation now. Unless it were *punycall* absurdity in a Country Gentleman, who was so caught with the

naturall action of a Youth (that represented a ravish'd Lady) as he swore alowd, he would not sleep untill he had killed her ravisher; and how 'twas not fit such Rogues should live in a Commonwealth." Similar expressions of opinion in much later times are illustrated by Robert Dyer's assertion in his *Nine Years of an Actor's Life* that at Plymouth in 1830 a rustic was so incensed at Sir Stephen Bertram's cruelty to the benevolent Sheva in Cumberland's *Jew* that he yelled from the pit: "Let alone the man; he's the best among ye, that I see." Another righteous countryman is said to have been so impressed by the villainy of this same Sir Stephen that he implored Sheva as acted by Walter Bernard to "knock the rascal's brains out." Less boisterous was the gentleman who consoled Mrs. Farren as the daughter of the rascally Michael Ducas: "Don't cry, miss, he wasn't killed a bit too soon."

Sometimes the naive lover of justice and fair play has not been content to protest with words only against villainy on the stage. That he sometimes interfered with the actors in Elizabethan times is suggested by such statements as that in John Palmer's prefatory verses to the 1647 folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, which asserts that members of the audiences were sometimes so affected by stage realism that they "ran to save the blow" of assassin or duellist. The same impression is given by the use of the Citizen and his Wife in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, where their literal acceptance of stage language and situation, their comments on actors and the play, and their interference with the action of the piece impress one as having been suggested by actual occurrences in the playhouse. Not so convincing is Edmund Gayton's comparison in his *Notes on Don Quixote* (1654): "Our Don is not so much transported with Belianis his Blowes as a passionate Butcher of our Nation was, who being at the Play called the *Greeks and Trojans*, and seeing Hector over-powered by Mirmydons, got upon the Stage, and with his good Battoone tooke the true Trojans part so stoutly, that he routed the Greeks, and rayled upon them loudly for a company of cowardly slaves to assault one man with so much odds. He strooke moreover such an especiall acquaintance with Hector, that for a long time Hector could not obtaine leave of him to be kill'd, that the Play

might go on; and the cudgelled Mirmydons durst not enter againe, till Hector, having prevailed upon his unexpected second, return'd him over the Stage againe into the yard from whence he came."

True descendents of Gayton's butcher are rather numerous. In the first half of the eighteenth century, according to a well-worn story, one of the sentinels habitually posted on the stage to prevent boisterous conduct in the audience made himself famous during a performance of Banks's *Earl of Essex*; for, on seeing the treachery of the Countess of Nottingham in denying the receipt of the ring which would have saved Essex, he cried aloud, "'Tis false! she has it in her bosom" and seized the lady roughly with the intention of making her reveal the precious bit of jewelry. Incidentally it may be noted that these grenadiers posted on each side of the stage to prevent riots seem to have been noted for their sensibility. As everybody knows, one fainted at the remarkably impressive acting of David Garrick and was rewarded liberally for his pains by the vanity-stricken player. At the next performance—a comedy—both sentinels are said to have fainted. Even the French have furnished stage history with easily excited grenadiers; for Fournel in his *Curiosités Théâtrales* tells of one who, during the scene in *Rodogune* where Antiochus demands whether it was his mother or wife who had caused the death of his father, was detected in attempting to indicate to Antiochus by movements of head, eye and hand that Cléopâtre was guilty. And the same author describes another grenadier who was so enraged at the villainy of Narcisse that he was taking aim at the rascal with his musket when an actor luckily interfered. To return to England, it may be said that a more convincing case of British sense of justice than most of those mentioned above is the incident which occurred at Northampton in 1827, when Cobber Jobson, about to beat his wilful wife in *Jobson and Nell*, discovered that he had left the necessary strap behind the scenes. "Here, Master Jackman, take mine; leather her with this," exclaimed an understanding cordewainer in the gallery—and he pitched his own belt upon the stage. A more delicate sense of justice and fair-mindedness is illustrated in Joe Miller's popular jest of the countryman who suggested that

he and his companions leave the theater since the gentlemen on the stage looked as if they desired to discuss matters of a private nature.

It is hardly necessary to warn the reader at this point that it was not always a sense of justice alone which prompted such interruptions in the playhouse. That other influences must be taken into consideration is proved by the familiar incident of Tomlins, the intoxicated dramatic critic, who managed to stagger to his feet and protest vigorously against the flogging of the boy Joseph at the opening performance of *Never too Late to Mend* in 1865. A very similar motive, or a planted actor, very likely accounts for the conduct of such persons as Gayton's butcher and the extraordinary conduct of the legal-minded gentleman during the trial scene in *Long Strike* at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. When the judge in the play, writes Olive Logan, inquired "Guilty or not guilty?" a well-dressed young man pushed through the audience, and, in spite of the protests of the actors on the stage, insisted on giving his testimony in the case.

Keeping in mind what has just been said, let us discuss briefly the English sailor, who has long been noted for the display of a love of justice at theatricals. In discussing the effect of acting upon unsophisticated seamen it is also well to keep in mind that the British have always been fond of advertising the doings of their jack-tars and that the blue-jackets have been noted from very early times for their abandon in the playhouse; hence it is frequently very difficult to decide whether British imagination or drink or a spirit of dare-deviltry rather than a naive sense of justice explains the extraordinary resentment of sailors to stage oppression. Something other than simple-mindedness, for example, seems to have inspired the conduct at Liverpool of the frequently discussed seaman who was prevented with difficulty by his companions from jumping upon the stage and threshing the very realistic Emery in the rôle of Tyke in Morton's *School of Reform*; and the same is true of the hero of Robert Lloyd's story of his experience at Greenwich while the Channel Fleet was moored there near the middle of the last century. In the play called *The Anchor of Hope* a band of smugglers attack a ship's captain whose function in the piece is to be rescued by a Jewish peddler. Indignant that a naval officer

should be so used by a gang of ruffians, the blue-jackets swarmed upon the stage and completely routed the smugglers before the honest peddler could perform his mission. Even after the fall of the curtain, writes Lloyd, they were with difficulty persuaded to entrust the officer to the protection of a Jew. Slightly more convincing, perhaps, is the account of the recently discharged sailor who visited his first nautical play in London in 1837, and on seeing a small group of English seamen being worsted in a stage conflict, yelled fair play and joined in the fight so effectively that he succeeded in getting himself arrested for disturbing the peace. Strikingly similar is Edward Sterling's account of his adventure while performing at Liverpool in *El Hyder, Chief of the Gaunt Mountains*. During his meleé with seven opponents he was joined by "a real sailor, half-seas over." "Messmate, I'll stand by you; seven to one aint fair noways," he remarked as he threw aside his jacket—and he knocked down two, while the other five wisely retreated behind the scenes and the house cheered lustily Jack Tar No. 2 as he escorted Jack Tar No. 1 from the stage. Patriotism plus strong drink rather than a natural sense of fair play inspired the conduct of the sailors who, according to James O'Keefe, stormed in an over-realistic manner a French ship on the Portsmouth stage late in the eighteenth century; and very similar influences occasioned the conduct of those tars, who, writes Francis Gentleman, bombarded with apples and other missiles the white-cockaded "Mounseers" who dared to appear somewhat later in the same theater.

More often has the British blue-jacket made himself a nuisance in his endeavor to aid the damsel in distress. One of the earliest anecdotes illustrating this chivalric element in the sailor is that told by the author (Mrs. Steele?) of the *Memoirs of Mrs. Baddeley*. While this beautiful actress was performing Juliet at Portsmouth about 1750, an admiring tar kept the house in a roar by the various expressions of his concern and admiration, perhaps the most original of which was his words at Mrs. Baddeley's query, "Romeo, Romeo! Wherefore art thou Romeo?" "Look ahead, my dear girl," responded the admirer in the gallery, who had slightly misunderstood her question, "and you will find him. Was I near him, I'd kick him

to hell for not coming to so sweet a creature." A more marked species of admiration was shown for Mrs. Bernard while playing Constantia in *The Chances* at Plymouth. As she exclaimed on escaping from Antonio, "Well, I'm glad I've got rid of that old fellow, however; and now if any handsome young man would take a fancy to me and make me an honest woman, I'd make him the best wife in the universe," a middy in the gallery, writes the husband of the actress, leaning far over the railing and clapping his hands to attract attention accepted the proposal: "I'll have you, ma'am, I'll have you; d—n my eyes if I don't. I have three years' pay to receive, besides prize-money." It may be of interest in throwing light on the behavior of theatrical anecdotes to point out that Mrs. Barrow-Wilson in her *Memoirs of Miss Mellon* states that the incident just related has sometimes been associated with the future Duchess of St. Albans. If the interesting experience cannot be credited to Miss Mellon, at least a more pronounced compliment was paid to her at Liverpool while she was acting the rôle of a poor orphan girl about to be sent to jail by an unscrupulous tradesman. At the instant, says Miss Mellon, when the orphan wails that she possessed not a friend in the world, all eyes were attracted by a sailor letting himself down from the upper gallery. "Yes, you shall have one friend at least, my poor young woman," he remarked as he found his way upon the stage, and, "with the greatest expression of feeling in his honest sun-burnt countenance," continued: "I will go bail for you at any moment. And for you (turning to the frightened tradesman), if you don't bear a-hand and shift your moorings, you lubber, it will be the worse for you when I come athwart your bows." Like several rescuers mentioned above, he was especially tenacious, and after the fall of the curtain was persuaded only by deception and clever acting on the part of Miss Mellon and the manager that matters could be adjusted without further assistance on his part.

Charity of a somewhat different sort is revealed in Michael Kelly's anecdote of Mrs. Crouch who, on repeating the words "spare a poor little gipsy a half-penny" in the song introduced into a play at the Haymarket, was surprised at the fall of a shilling upon the stage and the voice of a seaman on high:

"That I will, my darling." *The London Budget of Wit* (1817) states that, when Mrs. Siddons as Jane Shore once fell upon the stage to die, an indignant blue-jacket yelled from the audience: "Ho, why don't some of you lubbers in that there hold hand the poor woman a can of grog, since she's so badly?" That such acts of charity to this same unfortunate were not confined to British tars is revealed by the following passage from Wemyss's *Theatrical Biography* relative to an occurrence at Baltimore in 1841: "While playing 'Jane Shore,' an unsophisticated son of the Ocean was so wrapt up in the play that, as Mrs. Phillips lay down to die in the last scene, of want, suddenly sprang over the Boxes, and with the activity of a cat, placed himself at her side upon the stage, saying he would be damned if any woman would starve in that manner while he had a shot in the locker; and he actually insisted upon forcing upon her the contents of his purse. An explanation ensued, and he was conducted back to his seat in the boxes, where the audience gave him three cheers; and I shall never forget the honest smile that lighted up his weather-beaten face."

An over-abundance of loyalty to state and religion no less than a too zealous display of justice and charity has led to numerous cases of literal-mindedness in the playhouse. Some of the preceding anecdotes of British seamen are really instances of this sort of thing, but the most extraordinary case on record is perhaps the frequently told story of Gambier de Banault, French ambassador to Spain, who was so aroused by the indignities heaped by a Spanish actor upon a French character that he leaped upon the stage and ran the player through with his sword. Such a motif was, of course, employed by literary men at an early date, one of the most interesting cases occurring in Thomas D'Urfey's satirical poem, *Collin's Walk Through London and Westminster* (1690), in which the country zealot—like Jonathan in Royall Tyler's American drama, *The Contrast*—is enticed into a theater against which he is violently prejudiced. Collin happens to witness a performance of Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, and is in considerable doubt as to whether he is in a place compatible with his piety

"Till seeing Brother Zeal o' th' Land
Give to his Canting Sister Greeting
Confirm'd him this must be a Meeting;
With Eyes turn'd up and shake of Head,
He now repeated all was said;
Admir'd the Habit of the Prig,
And wink'd at stealing of the Pig,
As wisely knowing all those Slips,
Natural to their Apocalips."

When, however, the "Rabbi" is put in the stocks for his rascality, the rustic fanatic protests loudly and, sword in hand, prepares to effect a rescue. Unfortunately his intention is frustrated by a downright blow from a "Blew Coat Bully," after which Collin is led from the theater by a sympathetic "sister" interested in securing his purse.

Two other early cases of the use of similar zealots by literary men are worth mentioning. Most students are familiar with Thomas Nash's story of the extremely loyal Elizabethan justice, who, when Tarlton and other members of the Queen's Players performed in his township, became exceedingly wrath because the people insisted on laughing at the great comedian. Failing to bring them to a proper sense of dignity and respect by nods and becks, he "went with his staff, and beat them round about unmercifully on the bare pates, in that they, being but farmers and poor country hinds would presume to laugh at the Queen's men, and make no more account of her cloth in his presence." By no means so well known is the jest entitled "On a Welchman in Oxford" preserved in *Gratiae Ludentes* (1648): "At a stage-play in *Oxford*, a Cornish man was brought forth to wrestle with foure Welchmen, one after the other, and when he had put them all to the worst, hee called out aloud have you any more welchmen? which words a scholler of Iesus Colledge, being himself of the British Nation tooke in great endagine, insomuch that he leapt upon the stage and threw the Player in Earnest, and said have you any more, &c."

Equally old are those anecdotes which represent persons in the audience accepting stage illusion too literally in consequence of a guilty conscience. It will be recalled that no less a character than Hamlet asserted that he had heard of guilty creatures struck to the soul by "the very cunning of the scene"; while in

the old play of *A Warning for Fair Women* (1599) there is a reference to a woman who confessed to the murder of her husband in consequence of her attendance at a play in which a similar murder took place. Massinger in his *Roman Actor* has a character remark on a very similar circumstance. Naturally such incidents were eagerly seized upon by the defenders of the stage in their endeavor to prove the benefits to society of dramatic performances. Heywood in his *Apology for Actors* (1612) selects two such stories "out of others infinite," both of them noted for "their familiarness and lateness of memory." Related again and again by stage historians and the champions of drama is the actor Ross's account of the man who was saved by the powerful appeal made upon him by the acting of Lillo's *George Barnwell*, a play which was presented with dreadful persistence as a warning to London apprentices contemplating the murder of uncles and a life of sin. Jane Porter in her *Defence of the Profession of Acting* (1800) has an interesting passage in this connection: "Jane Shore has exhaled a sigh from many a frail bosom. And how frequently have I witnessed the gambler move uneasily on his seat, and, at last, abruptly quit the house, at the representation of the *Gamester* . . . Is it not notorious, that on those evenings when *George Barnwell* is acted, the women of the town are very thinly seen in the Theatre?" Mrs. Mowatt, the American actress, relates in her autobiography that while she was acting Mrs. Heller in Kotzebue's *Stranger* at Charleston, S. C., a lady was borne unconscious from the audience and on her recovery confessed that her strange conduct was due to the fact that she herself was on the verge of making the same fatal mistake of which Kotzebue's heroine was guilty. Numerous similar incidents are on record, but a story more closely connected with the particular purpose of the present paper is that told by Colcraft in his *Defence of the Stage*—the story of a London servant girl, who, during the run of *The Maid and the Magpie*, was so affected by Miss Kelly's acting of the unjustly accused maid that she shrieked from the gallery: "She's innocent—I stole the spoons!"

In his *Nine Years of an Actor's Life* Robert Dyer expresses a common sense attitude toward such anecdotes, though many

persons will be inclined to regard his remark as too skeptical. In spite of the words of Hamlet and others, this actor doubts whether anyone ever left the theater "warned by despair" or confessed a crime as the result of "occult guilt" on the stage; and he does not hesitate to pronounce Ross's over-worked version of the youngster who was saved by his seeing the play of *George Barnwell* a bit of eighteenth century theatrical advertisement. That others besides Dyer have been inclined to regard such incidents as playhouse trickery is brought out by the interesting situation at Paris during the initial performance, in 1791, of Monvel's *Victimes Cloitrées*, when a gentleman was overcome by the acting on the stage. The report was circulated that he was a former monk who, like Dorval in the play, had been unjustly cast into prison; but the more skeptical Parisians contended that the fainting one was a clever actor "planted" by Monvel to insure the success of his drama.

The skeptical Parisians would no doubt explain in a similar way those incidents in which members of the audience possessing a higher mentality than that ordinarily assigned to unsophisticated seamen or rustics have accepted literally an especially tense situation on the stage. I refer to such stories as that told by Madame Dumesnil of how she was interrupted in the rôle of Mérope by hearing an excited gentleman shriek out at the moment her dagger was raised to stab Egisthe, "Don't kill him; it is your son," or the incident of another Frenchman who fainted with concern when a son was on the verge of slaying his mother. Of similar stories associated with American actresses one of the most interesting is that told by Mrs. Mowatt of how a dummy of the heroine in Oxenford's alteration of *Ariadne* was so successfully cast over a precipice that a gentleman jumped up in the pit with the exclamation, "Great God! she is killed!" Olive Logan assures the reader of her *Before the Footlights and Behind the Scenes* that an even more unusual occurrence took place at New Orleans while her sister Eliza was starring in *Lucretia Borgia*. As the unrelenting Gernnarro raised his dagger to strike the actress, a beautiful Creole startled the audience with the words, "Oh! Don't kill Miss Logan; she's going to be my bridesmaid to-morrow." It is only fair to say that Olive Logan can tell more convincing stories than

the one just related,—for example, her anecdote of the early Californian who, when the shooting started in *The Robbers*, put to good use his knowledge of life as he knew it by diving under the seats until all sounds of conflict had ceased.

People less critical than the Parisians who accused Monvel of "puffing" would be inclined to regard with gravest doubts most of that enormous number of anecdotes which represent actors themselves as being misled by the naturalness of the scene in which they are participating or petrified by the remarkable acting of some eminent player. One may trust the accuracy, no doubt, of many of the statements of actors that they have been put out by the intensely funny conduct of fellow comedians. Not overly suspicious, too, are such stories as those which represent Barton Booth and Robert Wilkes as horrified at Betterton's realism or Young's forgetting his part as a result of Mrs. Siddon's intensity as Mrs. Beverly in *The Gamester*. Even within belief is the story that the youthful Henry Compton was frozen into silence by the "magic" of Edmund Kean's wonderful eyes; and the same is true of Edmund Leathes's avowal that Mrs. Davenport Lauder once acted the rôle of Marie Antoinette so effectively that "all on the stage were in tears," including even Leathes himself, who was ordinarily "little given to the melting mood."

Highly "puffy," on the other hand, is the notice in the *London Chronicle* for May 21-3, 1776, to the effect that Garrick was so forceful as King Lear that "even the unfeeling Regan and Goneril, forgetful of their characteristic cruelty, played through the whole of their parts with aching bosoms and streaming eyes"; and approaching the improbable, to say the least, are Mrs. Bellamy's statement that "overcome by the horror of the piece," she fainted at the sight of the ghost of Laius in *Oedipus*, and the assurance of her biographer that Mrs. Baddeley similarly fainted at the terrible aspect of Edgar as Mad Tom in *King Lear*. Equally unconvincing are the well known stories that the veteran actress Mrs. Glover was borne from the stage in a faint as the result of Kean's villainy as Sir Giles Overreach, and that Mrs. Bellamy collapsed in consequence of the playing of her rival, Peg Woffington, in the rôle of Jocasta.

Hardly less convincing than the fainting of actresses at the "horror of the piece" is the sensitive super or inexperienced player who fails to detect the make-believe of the stage. Perhaps the best known instance of this phenomenon is the murderer in *Macbeth* who, on Mossop's assertion, "There's blood upon thy face," exclaimed, "Is there, by God" and mopped his face with his handkerchief. Even more stupid than this murderer (or I should say murderers, since the anecdote has been told of several actors besides Mossop), was the messenger in the same play who reported to Macready that Birnam wood was on the move. "Liar and slave," roared Macready; and the frightened supernumary, who was acquainted with the great actor's reputation for irritability, earnestly replied: "Pon my soul, Mr. Macready, they told me to say it." Fright of a somewhat different sort, according to Olive Logan, caused the super to distinguish himself when Edwin Forrest was especially earnest in the rôle of the Chief of the Wampanoags. Just as five or six rascally Indians were about to seize Nahmedkee, wife of the chieftain, Forrest rushed in and, pointing his musket at the group, inquired: "Which of you has lived too long?" "Not me," gurgled the astonished "supe with a tin tomahawk" who was looking directly into the muzzle of the chief's musket. The super's fright is said to have been intense, but it was not so prolonged as that of the inexperienced Emelia who, when Iago as acted by John Colman entered with scowling face and drawn scimitar, was so alarmed at her irate husband that she turned tail and fled behind the scenes; and on being ordered by the manager to return to her post of duty flatly refused to "go on again with that maniac with a drawn sword."

Occasionally to-day we hear anecdotes similar to those listed above. Children are still overheard uttering naïve remarks in the playhouse, drunken sailors no doubt continue to conduct themselves in an unusual manner in the theater, and very rarely we hear of the extraordinary behavior of some neurasthenic or some unsophisticated person at his first play. Gordon Craig, for example, tells us that a native of Lubeck was recently so incensed at the strangling of Desdemona that he attempted to pistol Othello. Such instances, however, are indeed rare. The question naturally arises as to why we do not have many per-

sons taking the actors too seriously. The answer is not hard to find. Perhaps certain critics like Mr. Towse would be inclined to attribute it largely to the fact that "the race of competent actors is threatened with extinction." Still others would possibly be prone to say that contemporary drama does not afford the actor the same opportunity for emotional appeal as that provided in the older drama. That there is something in this is recognized by Louis Calvert and others who have studied the impression of both types on the audience; but a more important reason, of course, than either of those suggested above is that theater-goers have become more sophisticated and restrained than the early sentimentalists who came to the theater well supplied with dainty handkerchiefs to absorb their tears or ready to faint at the slightest provocation. Mr. Gordon Craig, indeed, in a tirade against naturalism accuses us of becoming callous on account of the over-doing of realism on the stage; but it should never be forgotten in explaining the infrequency of excessive literal-mindedness in the theater to-day that the modern audience, in spite of its emphasis upon realism, will not tolerate the harrowingly impressive acting encouraged by the admirers of Garrick and Mrs. Siddons. And especially should it be kept in mind that stricter police regulations have been formulated to check the outbursts of unduly excited or intoxicated spectators, and that modern advertising has devised more convincing methods of "puffing" than the invention of stories about the extraordinary effects of acting upon super-sensative people. In a word, the same, or very similar, forces which have practically suppressed most of the old-fashioned types of religious ecstasy in our leading churches have almost eliminated the once popular art of accepting at its face value what took place behind the footlights.

Politics During the Administration of John Quincy Adams

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The slow development of sharply distinguished parties during the administration of John Quincy Adams has given emphasis to the conflict of personal ambitions in this period. Then as always politics revealed a combination of selfish interests and idealism. Nevertheless, there was taking place a struggle between two political points of view which at times reached the dignity of tragedy. Armed with the groping idealism, the crusading zeal and the realistic leadership which characterized Jacksonian Democracy and which for a decade gave it commanding influence in national politics, the opposition to Adams directed a powerful attack against his policies. Factional differences, lack of consistent coöperation between its leaders, and a temperamental inability to understand or to gauge correctly the significance of the democratic movement necessarily resulted in the weakness of the National Republican party which was being organized in his defense. A large share of the responsibility must be attributed to Adams. Rather than take the part of a party manager, he counted upon the merits of his programme of national development and leadership in Latin American affairs to make friends for himself, and coöperated most unwillingly with Clay and Webster. But the task of resisting the assaults of Jackson's followers would have puzzled an abler politician than Adams.

As early as the campaign of 1824 he was faced by the embarrassing problem of determining his relations with the survivors of the Federalist party. To refuse their coöperation would mean the loss of important elements of strength in the New England states and elsewhere, but to accept their aid would be to court the odium with which Federalism was still regarded by public opinion. Adams was in sympathy with the Federalist attitude towards government, believing that training and experience were necessary qualifications for the possession of political office and that a nationalist policy should be fol-

lowed. But the Federalists had been reduced to the ranks of a minority party by their opposition to democratic tendencies, and their unpopular attitude during the second war with England had brought their disappearance as a party in national politics. Federalism survived for some years in state affairs, and its name remained to plague those who failed to express the dominant view in politics during the Jacksonian period. Although Adams had broken with the Federalists during Jefferson's second administration on questions of foreign policy, he did not make it impossible for the remnant to accept him in 1824. In New England Webster used his influence to retain their friendship for the president and moreover urged their fusion with his Republican friends.¹ But Adams' difficulties were later increased by a quarrel with the New England Federalists and at no time was the association a happy one.

The charge was often made, during the Jacksonian period, that the National Republicans and later the Whigs were in reality Federalists masking their true character under false names. There was little foundation for this assertion—in the re-alignment of parties which occurred in the decade from 1820 to 1830 some Federalists became Democrats and some Republicans became National Republicans—yet it cannot be dismissed as a political trick. There had been at issue between Federalists and Republicans principles of permanent importance in American politics, distinct points of view which did not disappear with the disintegration of parties associated with them. In 1822, Jefferson assured Gallatin that the old party alignment was still intact, with the Federalists again allied with the old and familiar cause of a strong, centralized government.² Van Buren, writing in 1854 from the perspective of a long political career, believed that the principles which had been so bitterly contested as to become the heritage of families, had not entirely disappeared in the era of good feeling.³ A Democratic member of the New York Assembly, whose name was withheld by Niles, wrote in 1824 that the attempt to create a semblance of

¹ Webster to Samuel Hill, October 18, 1824. Webster Papers, Library of Congress.

² Jefferson to Gallatin, Monticello, October 29, 1822. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (P. L. Ford, ed., New York, 1899), X, pp. 235, 236.

³ *The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren* (J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., Annual Report of the American Historical Association, Washington, 1918, II), pp. 123, 124.

good feeling in politics was the "last and forlorn expedient of a set of politicians, who have failed in every other, to regain the power which they lost in 1800. The leopard has not changed his spots nor the Ethiopian his skin."⁴ New issues were developing and old ones were assuming new forms, but in either case there was opportunity for the conservatism of the Federalist party to reappear.

Although a new party alignment was gradually taking place, the personalities of the various candidates and considerations of political expediency were determining factors at least in the opening manoeuvres of the campaign of 1824. The variety of combinations, which were from time to time proposed, itself reveals a poverty of political principles. This was nowhere more clearly seen than in the favor which Adams gave to the proposal that Jackson should be coupled with him as a candidate for the vice-presidency. When this arrangement was first suggested, Adams was distinctly skeptical, but in the spring of 1824 he assured his friends that Jackson was fitted for the office and that sound political reasons existed for his candidacy. The prospects for this combination during the early part of the campaign were more favorable than for an understanding with Clay, due to the unfriendliness which existed between Adams and Clay and to Jackson's popularity. It was not until September 1824, when Adams became convinced that Jackson's strength had outgrown a candidacy for the subordinate office, that he abandoned the scheme.

Union between Adams, Clay and Webster, the leaders whose opinions upon current issues and whose points of view most nearly agreed, was delayed until the popular election had shown that no candidate had a majority of the electoral votes. Faced by a choice between Adams and Jackson, the decision of Clay and Webster to endorse the former could only be delayed temporarily by the barriers of personal dislike and prejudice which separated them from Adams. A rival candidate, Clay had been primarily interested in his own chances of success until the election had determined that his name would not be sent to the House of Representatives. On the other hand, Adams' attitude towards Clay was irritable and distinctly unfriendly.

⁴ *Niles' Register*, XXVI, 203.

"He is so ardent, dogmatical, and overbearing that it is extremely difficult to preserve the temper of friendly society with him."⁵ For present purposes it is unnecessary to review the charges that a corrupt bargain was responsible for the union between Adams and Clay. From Adams' own account it is clear that he was willing to go a certain distance to secure Clay's aid. No direct communication seems to have taken place between them at this time, but he was approached by Clay's friends on several occasions. They were given no definite assurances as to the formation of his administration in the event of his election; yet in each case his interviewer left with a favorable impression, and it is possible to infer from their attitude a confidence that something would be done for Clay. In December Robert Letcher, of Kentucky, stated the case clearly to Adams: if Clay's friends were assured that he would have "a prominent share in the administration" the Kentucky delegation might vote for Adams in spite of its instructions. Adams replied "in mere general terms."⁶ A month later John Scott, a member of the House from Missouri, came to Adams on a similar mission. It would be impossible, he was told, to give definite assurances as to the details of the next administration, yet "if I should be elected by the suffrages of the West, I should naturally look to the West for much of the support which I should need." Adams significantly added: "He parted from me apparently satisfied."⁷ How much weight the hope of office had in persuading Clay to cast his influence in favor of Adams, it is perhaps impossible to determine; it is certain, however, that personal preference had no part in the decision. He would not have supported Adams, he wrote to a friend, if it had been possible to make a free choice among the people.⁸ In his opinion, he was faced by a choice of evils of which Jackson seemed by far the more dangerous, and as to Adams there was after all the kinship of similar political principles.

Coöperation between Adams and Webster was a part of the troublesome problem of establishing friendly relations with the

⁵ *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams* (C. F. Adams, ed., Philadelphia, 1876), VI, 258.

⁶ But Letcher, according to Adams, denied that he was in any way Clay's emissary. *Ibid.*, VI, 447.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 474.

⁸ Clay to Francis P. Blair, Washington, January 29, 1825. *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay* (Calvin Colton, ed., New York, 1856), pp. 111, 112.

Federalists, since Webster's strength was largely based upon their support. To the coolness which existed between the two leaders⁹ was added the long standing quarrel between Adams and the Federalists: two considerations which added to the difficulties of an understanding. Nevertheless, as the Federalists were interested in determining Adams' attitude in the event of his election, he was sounded on various occasions as to the treatment which could be expected from him. John Reed, a member of the House from Massachusetts, assured him that the Federalist opposition was due to the fear of a general exclusion from office. In reply to this obvious plea for a promise of a share of the spoils, Adams declared that he would be under obligation to give preference to members of the other party in case his election were won against Federalist opposition. Adams' resentment at Federalist dictation soon moderated, for he assured Reed on the following day that Webster's fears of a "proscription of Federalists from office" were unfounded.¹⁰ Webster was reported to be in a position of neutrality by William Plumer, a representative from New Hampshire, who suggested that Webster would be pleased if something were done for Jeremiah Mason and if the vice-presidency were given to Richard Rush. A few days before the election was held in the House Webster brought to Adams a draft of a letter to H. R. Warfield, a Maryland Federalist, in which assurances were given that an occasion would be found by means of the appointment of a Federalist to show that party allegiance would not determine the disposal of the patronage. Adams gave warning that this confidence, if it had reference to the appointment of a Federalist as a member of the cabinet, was unwarranted; but he gave the letter a general endorsement when Webster explained that he had in mind merely an important office, a judicial post for instance. Adams' delicate treatment of the Federalists is explained by their position at this time: as an independent group, they were the objects of unusual tolerance and kindly consideration. According to Webster, all

⁹ Adams suspected the existence of an understanding between Webster, Calhoun and Crawford. J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 275.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VI, 315, 316. However, no pledges were made in regard to individuals who might expect appointments.

of the candidates "are just now, very civil towards Federalists. We see and hear no abuse of us except in some parts of New England."¹¹

Political expediency, it is clear, caused Adams to approach the point of view of a politician in his relations with Clay and Webster after the election had been forced into the House. The foundations of a nationalist party being laid in the coöperation of these leaders the development of a party in support of the weak government theory became probable. Yet, faced by accumulating evidence that an early partisan organization was impending, Adams and Webster both wished to avoid occasion for the development of party lines. As a Federalist leader, Webster of course had a material interest in this point of view, anticipating that no discrimination would then be made against his political associates. On the eve of the vote in the House Adams confided to his Memoirs that his "great object would be to break up the remnant of old party distinctions, and to bring the whole people together as much as possible."¹² His purpose seems to have been to prolong and to make more real the era of good feeling by uniting all parties behind his ambitious schemes of national development. From the first Clay was not so clear in his disapproval of partisan organization, and the immediate appearance of the charge of a corrupt bargain with Adams made a political association with Jackson's friends intolerable from his point of view.

Adams' own personality and political standards proved the most serious obstacles to the building of an effective party. The distinctly skilful management which he displayed in dealing with the friends of Clay and Webster prior to his election was not continued during his administration. His conception of the duties of his office and the rigor of his puritan conscience made it impossible for him to divert his energies from more important pursuits to the activities of a politician and to subordinate public interests to his own political career or to the success of a party. Cold, reserved, critical of his associates and of men whom he casually met in the transaction of his duties, he had few of the qualities of political leadership. When Thurlow Weed

¹¹ Webster to Jeremiah Mason, February 15, 1824. C. H. Van Tyne, *Webster Transcripts*, Library of Congress.

¹² J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 474. Cf., *Ibid.*, VI, 493.

applied to Adams in June 1825 for an appointment in the interest of James Tallmadge, not only to reward past services but also to strengthen the party in the future, the president, due to "political impracticability" as Weed wrote, would do nothing. Weed's judgment is important as that of a skilful politician: "Mr. Adams, during his administration failed to cherish, strengthen, or even recognize the party to which he owed his election; nor as far as I am informed, with the great power he possessed, did he make a single influential friend." Joseph Gales, editor of the *National Intelligencer*, assured Weed that if Clay had been president his success would have been certain.¹³ More of an opportunist in politics, Clay was convinced that the usual weapons of party warfare should be freely employed. Webster soon abandoned all thought of a permanent period of good feeling and thereafter agreed with him, but Clay far more than either Webster or Adams possessed the talents and temperament of a politician. His services in organizing the defense of the administration were handicapped, however, by the president's unsympathetic attitude.

With the appearance of a vigorous and popular opposition, strengthened and disciplined by its encounter with the administration over the Panama mission, it became clear to Clay and Webster that organization was necessary and that newspaper support must be cultivated. Unlike Adams, Clay paid little attention to the moral significance of the use of money for this purpose, and the possible squeamishness of editors and the lack of funds furnished the only limits which he recognized for his policy of subsidizing friendly newspapers. The *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, whose editor was Charles Hammond, he assured Webster in August 1827, was most deserving and should be given aid. He suggested that it might take the form of an "extension of the subscription list" or of "a new lot of types."¹⁴ An agreement seems to have been made between Clay and Webster in 1826 that, as a general policy, financial support should be given to friendly newspapers, and a proportionate amount of free circulation should by this means be devoted to party pur-

¹³ *The Autobiography of Thurlow Weed* (Harriet A. Weed, ed., Boston, 1884), pp. 178-182.

¹⁴ Clay to Webster, Washington, August 19, 1827. Webster Papers.

poses.¹⁵ No evidence is available which shows the method by which campaign funds for this purpose were to be raised, but contributions were expected from national leaders, for Webster indirectly asked Adams to contribute to similar expenses. John Bailey, a member of the House from Massachusetts, who admitted that the suggestion had come from Webster, asked Adams if he had a sum "from five to ten thousand dollars, that I was disposed to give without enquiring how it would be disposed, but which would be employed to secure the election of Governor Metcalf in Kentucky, next August." This proposal was met by Adams "in a manner altogether explicit," as he bluntly added, by a definite refusal.¹⁶ His reflections on this occasion reveal the fundamental difference between his point of view in public life and that of his political associates. To his mind, the use of money was wrong in principle: half a million could be spent with as much propriety as five thousand dollars.

An equally sharp difference of opinion developed between Adams and his lieutenants in regard to the disposal of the patronage. The record of the civil service from 1825 to 1829 shines by contrast with that of Jackson's administration, yet as his own years in office lengthened Adams was more and more forced to compromise with political expediency. The retention of John McLean as Postmaster General, a post which he had filled under Monroe, in the face of Clay's repeated charges of disloyalty¹⁷ seems a striking example of the merit system. McLean's efficiency in the management of the postal service was unquestioned, but contemporary charges that he had used the patronage of his office in favor of Calhoun and Jackson have on the whole been endorsed by historians.¹⁸ It is difficult however, to condemn him on these charges; if they were true he was guilty of hypocrisy, for in his letters of this period he

¹⁵ Clay to Webster, Washington, October 25, 1827. *Ibid.*

¹⁶ J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 468, 468.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 343, 349, 355, 364. By November, 1827, Adams seems to have been convinced of McLean's secret hostility, yet he was allowed to remain in office until the end of his administration.

¹⁸ Turner, *Rise of the New West*, p. 272. Professor Channing is not so positive in this opinion after examining the McLean papers. Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1921), V, 372, 373. Dr. W. C. Ford finds in Jackson's offer to reappoint McLean as Postmaster General sufficient proof that he had been useful during the campaign of 1828. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Third Series, 1907), I, 36.

repeatedly denied any disloyalty to the administration in the making of appointments. It is of more importance here that sound political reasons argued against his dismissal. The efficiency of the postal service under his direction had made many friends for McLean who might have been lost to the administration by his dismissal. He was informed that the plan of certain leaders to destroy his political career had been merely delayed because its effect upon public opinion was feared, especially in Ohio.¹⁹ When the *Richmond Enquirer* raised the question of his political principles, the *National Intelligencer* refused to discuss his conduct in office, as he was "a valuable public officer, and has our unfeigned personal respect."²⁰

The two conflicting theories concerned with the disposal of the patronage which divided the leaders of the administration, found expression in the course of a curious correspondence between McLean and Edward Everett from August 1 to October 7, 1828.²¹ Having its inception in a rumored connection between Everett and a Boston newspaper which had criticized McLean, the correspondence thereafter became largely concerned with a discussion of the general principles which underlie the use of the patronage. McLean's point of view was substantially that of Adams. A responsible member of the administration should take no step outside the duties of his office to influence the result of a presidential election. Merit alone should guide in the making of appointments, with the one qualification that in the event of an equality of merit between a friend and an opponent, preference should go to the former. This principle, according to McLean, had been followed in the administration of his office. Everett, on the other hand, frankly maintained that neutrality should not determine the question of appointments. In his last letter to McLean he seemed to endorse McLean's position, but a desire to end a correspondence that had become tiresome may well have influenced this apparent concession. Hope of office was, in his opinion, the most effective bond of union among the rank and

¹⁹ S. J. Richardson to McLean, Frankfort, Ky., October 4, McLean Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁰ *National Intelligencer*, September 9, 1828.

²¹ These letters, with an introduction and explanatory notes by Dr. W. C. Ford, are printed from the MSS. in the Library of Congress in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Third Series, 1907), I, 359-393.

file of parties; therefore, for an administration to distribute the patronage without reference to party ties would be to "court its own destruction." Not only would those who had failed to secure appointments be alienated, but even the holders of office, knowing that their tenure rested upon merit, would feel no sense of political loyalty to the party in power.²² The views of Clay and Webster on this subject are nowhere so clearly expressed; yet it is probable that they were in substantial agreement with those of Everett.

In any event, it is certain that Adams' point of view in regards to the patronage found little favor with his lieutenants. Neither went so far as to anticipate Jackson by urging a general removal of office holders; and the extent of the removal under the next administration would suggest that few friends of Jackson were then in office. As to the question of making appointments Clay was definitely in favor of the partisan principle. He wrote in 1827: "Henceforth, I think that the principle ought to be adhered to is of [sic.] appointing only friends to offices. Such I believe is the general conviction of the cabinet."²³ In the same year, Webster wrote to the president suggesting that Robert Walsh, editor of the Philadelphia *National Gazette*, might be persuaded to abandon his attitude of neutrality by the appointment of his friend Hopkinson, who felt himself "neglected and injured."²⁴ Walsh saw Adams in Washington, but he was apparently given no satisfaction. In the following year, according to Adams, Walsh was at most but a lukewarm friend of the administration.²⁵

During his correspondence with McLean, Everett attributed to the president a scrupulous regard for the merit rule. Nevertheless, to other contemporaries, influenced perhaps by disappointed hopes or by the prejudices of political opponents, it seemed that Adams made a partisan use of the patronage, or

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 361, 362. The extreme care evident in the preparation of McLean's letters in this correspondence—a draft copy of several being preserved in addition to copies of those which were finally sent—suggests a labored defense. By convincing Everett of his innocence, McLean may have hoped to accomplish a political purpose in strengthening his position with friends of the administration in New England. In the preliminary draft of his last letter, he drew a flattering picture of Everett's political influence in New England. McLean, it should be noted, was confident that Jackson would not undertake a general removal of office holders.

²³ Clay to Webster, April 14, 1827. Webster Papers.

²⁴ Webster to J. Q. Adams, Philadelphia, March 27, 1827. Webster Letters (Van Tyne, ed.), pp. 123, 124.

²⁵ J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 252; *ibid.*, VII, 491, 492.

at least that he allowed men under him to favor friends of the administration. Gales, of the *Intelligencer*, assured Weed in 1825 that Clay had already appointed many party friends to office. After the election McLean was told by Isaac Hill, the powerful Democratic leader of New Hampshire, that members of the administration had threatened to dismiss employees of the post office in his state if they did not work for Adams.²⁶ On another occasion, McLean asserted that all appointments to important offices of a political character since the first organization of the administration, with the single exception of Joel R. Poinsett to Mexico, had been made from its friends. However favorable the judgment of history has been in regard to Adams' disposal of the patronage, it gave little satisfaction to his contemporaries. Federalists and their friends in many cases felt themselves neglected; Republicans who had supported Adams believed that Federalists had been given undue consideration. Silas Wright of New York, a Crawford man whose affiliations with New England had led to the support of Adams, doubtless was only one of many whose enthusiasm had cooled. A super-annuated Federalist, Rufus King, had been appointed minister to England, and to the survivors of the same party had been given the federal offices in New York state. Webster, according to Wright, had been one of the leaders of the Hartford convention, and in 1827 was the recognized administration leader in Congress. "All say party is done away, but come to selections for office Federalists are never forgotten, and we should suppose that in the doing away of party, the old line of Democrats was done away by annihilation."²⁷ As the campaign of 1828 approached, Adams was more and more compelled to compromise with his principles in the making of appointments in order, as he phrased it, to maintain harmonious relations with his associates. In spite of his reluctance, Hopkinson was finally nominated as district judge for Pennsylvania. General Porter, who was Clay's friend and who had led the friends of the administration in the New York legislature, was appointed Secretary of War. To Adams, it seemed that W. H. Harrison wanted "the mission to Colombia more than it wants

²⁶ Isaac Hill to McLean, Concord, N. H., November 27, 1828. McLean Papers.

²⁷ Silas Wright to A. C. Flagg, Washington, December 20, 1827. A. C. Flagg Papers, New York City Public Library.

him, or than it is wanted by the public interest." The saving consideration in these appointments was the confidence that both men would faithfully discharge the duties of their offices; in no case would he yield upon this most important point. "But in all short of that the right must in this, as in numberless other cases, yield to the expedient."²⁸

The centers of National Republican strength were, for the most part, in the long established communities of the eastern and middle states. For a time, the South had been in sympathy with nationalist policies, but diverging interests had persuaded her leaders that a mistake had been made. The West agreed with the South in her dislike of a strong central government, although in other respects the interests of these two sections differed. Except for the die-hard survivors of Federalism, and for chance allies that the fortunes of local politics and dissension within the Democratic party provided, National Republicanism found little support in the South, outside of Kentucky and Louisiana, where local interests proved effective arguments in behalf of the tariff party. No consistent effort was therefore made by its national leaders to rally support in that section. Their chief reliance was a combination between eastern and western states based upon the sectional appeal of the American System. The consequences of the War of 1812 and the tariff of 1824 had given to New England a taste of the fruits of high protection, whereas in the West, difficulties of communication, especially as they were concerned with the marketing of its products, gave rise to an insistent demand for internal improvements. The National Republican programme, providing for both a tariff and internal improvements with federal aid, appealed to the interests of each section. Writing to Webster in 1827, Clay urged the necessity of convincing each of these sections that it should support the interest of the other so that in their coöperation both might gain their ends. He admitted, however, that it might be difficult for Webster to induce New England to support internal improvements, due to its "improved condition."²⁹

²⁸ J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII, 4, 5.

²⁹ Clay to Webster, April 14, 1827. Webster Papers.

Jackson's popularity, unfettered by the responsibility of office, increased rapidly as a result of the belief that he had been dishonestly deprived of the presidency and by the converging at this time of many democratic influences in American life. The West saw in his candidacy a means of trying its hand in national politics, while considerable minorities in the East, working men in the cities and small farmers, interpreted his career as a promise that social position, wealth or training would not continue to be necessary qualifications for participation in politics. There was no lack of efficient leadership among Democrats to make the most of this enthusiasm. Office holders were denounced as aristocratic, and evidence of the luxurious tastes of the puritanic Adams was presented to the ignorant. Conclusive proof of decadence was seen in the billiard table charge, and Adams was denounced as an Englishman who was ready to hand over his country to the English armies.³⁰ Friends of the administration, in this crisis, had little to hope for in the leadership of the president. From the beginning he had lacked the prestige of popular approval which follows a clear majority in the election, and by temperament he was unable to understand or make use of the changes which were taking place in public opinion. Defeat became inevitable when the campaign, as a result of decisions for which he was perhaps not responsible, centered upon Jackson's personality and capacity at a time when his popularity made impossible an impartial judgment of his fitness for the presidency. Attempts to arouse moral disapprobation in regard to certain features of Jackson's life were not calculated to convince an unconventional West. In a series of carefully prepared articles, published during the summer of 1828, the *National Intelligencer* stressed those phases of Jackson's career and personality which seemed to indicate a lack of adaptability to the constitutional restraints of the presidency and of a lack of training for its duties.³¹ These arguments were capable of confirming the opposition of conservatives, not of converting the rank and file of those whose support was necessary for success in the election. Their effect-

³⁰ Francis Johnson to James Barbour, Bowling Green, Ky., James Barbour Papers, New York City Public Library.

³¹ These articles appeared under the title, "The Acts of Andrew Jackson as a Legislator", and had reference to his conduct in office while governor of Florida.

iveness was also restricted by Adams' scruples: the case of the six militiamen was elaborated in a pamphlet under the title "Law and the Facts," and given wide circulation.³² Adams, however, refused to allow the decision of the court martial to be copied from the records of the War Department as it would perhaps be a violation of the usual practice and "would be considered as a measure of hostility against General Jackson."³³ Although the irresponsibility of a military leader was dreaded in the election of the Democratic leader, the *National Intelligencer* professed to have no fear that the policy of strict construction would become the accepted policy of the government. "Revolutions never go backward. The policy of this government is established, and it is approved by the people; and no statesman—no, nor any soldier either, can ever change it."³⁴

The defeat of the administration by an overwhelming majority completed the demonstration of Adams' failure as a political leader, although perhaps no other National Republican could have resisted the current of Jackson's popularity. However, the efforts of Clay and Webster to secure a longer lease of life for the administration and their talents for political organization marked them, and especially Clay, for the future leadership of the party.

³² Richard Peters to James Barbour, Philadelphia, September 1, 1827. James Barbour Papers.

³³ J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 275.

³⁴ *National Intelligencer*, June 5, 1828.

The Romance and Pathos of George Keats' Fortune in the Mid-west

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The aftermath of the World War upon literature will always be an interesting study. It is quite some little while since the great Armistice closing the mightiest conflict in all human history was signed, but the longer this interval, strangely enough, the greater the effect of taking the American soldier to Europe, by way of Great Britain, on his literary tastes and investigations, proves to be.

The American soldier, it may not come amiss to refresh the memory a bit, was slipped to sea, from ports unknown, with just what Uncle Sam might furnish, and what the comfort-kit enclosed, to afford him quiet pastime on the way. He landed "somewhere in England," exactly *where* he was not allowed to say; and *there*, miserable still from the *Mal-de-mer*, and quite as abominably home-sick, he turned to the endless collections of books which friends of the soldiers, be they of what-so-ever allied nation, had ready and awaiting at rest-camps. Among other books which the private came on there,—browsed on,—at first simply because it came in his way, and then because he took a liking to it that he'd never suspected for it when at home, was the inevitable handy set of "British Poets." Every rest-camp library was possessed of such a set; every British soldier of any training at all, the American soldiers found, really prided himself on the extent to which he might quote from these. The British privates quoted Keats, Shelley, Browning, Wordsworth; whereupon the American soldiers dipped into the poets, they caught the contagion of the big Anglo-Saxon love for them; and they've been reading them and recommending them to their friends and kin-folk ever since. Here overseas, then, as a consequence, we are having a renaissance of the British poets such as America has not known in a long time before.

Along with the revival in just reading the poets, there has come a renewed interest in the life-stories,—the careers,—of

these poets, and all persons and places remotely associated with them. First and foremost among the many in this new American interest, perhaps, is John Keats, the luckless; and this, in a large measure, for the distinctly American side to his story which came from the correspondences maintained so steadily between him and his brother in the Middle West. The better to understand these family ties it cannot harm to retrospect just a little.

John Keats himself, it will be recalled, was born in London, at the *Sign of the Swan and Hoop*, 24 Pavement, Moorsfields, on October 31, 1795. The actual birthplace, the chroniclers tell us, was given over almost completely then to the livery-stable of a certain Mr. Jennings, into whose employ Tom Keats, the poet's father, had come a good many years before. Starting to work for Jennings as an humble stable-hand, Thomas Keats rose in rank here till he occupied the post of chief hostler, when he aspired to, and in due course won, the hand of his employer's daughter, Frances. Of this union the poet Keats was the oldest child. Three other children of the couple lived to attain maturity—George Keats, (1797-1842); Thomas, (1799-1818); and Francis Mary, or "Fanny," the family called her, later Mrs. Llanoe, (1803-1889).

George Keats forms the prime object of consideration of this discussion. As a lad, we learn from the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, long Mr. Keats' pastor at Louisville, George Keats was recognized as a child of "most pacific nature." Again and again, however, in even his most tender youth, he was drawn into boyish battles and brawls, about Londontown, to protect his rather quarrelsome elder brother.

Leaving the city schools in course, George Keats secured a post in the counting-room of his guardian. There, though, he very soon refused arbitrarily to submit to the dominations of this man's younger brother; more than that, he preferred being charged with being "unreasonable and erratic," to undertaking to explain his position in point; and so he very soon found himself forced to seek a position elsewhere. This position lay not far away; nor was it strenuous or otherwise trying. It consisted simply in serving as housekeeper to his brothers; and so well did it suit his tastes that he held the place until reaching

the age when he came into his paternal inheritance, and believed that he might aspire to housekeepings more wholly his own. Relying on this money,—and what it might bring,—Mr. Keats very promptly married a Miss Wylie, the daughter of a Colonel in the British armies.

Almost instantly there came disillusionment. The legacy,—not exceeding five thousand dollars in all,—could not begin to keep Keats and his bride in anything like the social state they felt they must assume. There was but one way out,—to emigrate overseas to the West,—and this they as promptly prepared to do. On June 22nd,—very soon after the publication of *Endymion* by his brother,—George Keats and his wife left London for Liverpool and the new lands in the West. John Keats and his friend, Brown, accompanied the pair far as Lancaster; from there the two diverged for a foot-tour of the English Lake district and, later, of Scotland. Arriving at Liverpool, George Keats and wife set sail for what they believed would prove Eldorado,—the Promised Land beyond. Keats had been led to move so far from home largely by the enticements set forth in the book of a certain Fearson, published England over, about the year 1818 and leaving little to be desired by the most exacting as concerned inducements to come to the West.

Dr. Clarke, writing in 1842 from recollections of Keats and from what he had, from time to time, told him, delights in portraying for us the striking vignettes of that journey. He goes into detailed descriptions of the groom, aged just twenty-one, and of the bride, barely sixteen; of their arrival in New York and, almost immediately thereupon, the grim realization that, even in the 'twenties of the past century, five thousand dollars would not permit "setting up" house in any of the large seaboard cities with any real mark of opulence.

From New York Mr. and Mrs. Keats made their ways to Philadelphia. There they invested in "horses and carriage," and travelled to Pittsburg in style. Thence they descended the Ohio by keel-boat, the young people "indulging in long strolls on the trails that joined ends of bends, or curves, in the river; while the sluggish vessel followed the actual water-course to such ends." Cincinnati was their first destination. The city

was at that time the metropolis of the Mid-West and the gateway for all newcomers to the other promising sections around. Reaching the city, mystery surrounds their story. Where they lived, what position Keats held, if any at all, is not known. Before long, though, we read that George Keats had engaged in a "mercantile business," and that this prospered excellently at the start.

Whatsoever the cause, by and by this business showed all signs of failure; whereupon Mr. and Mrs. Keats no doubt counselled once more together, and resolved to follow the tide of emigrant-travel of the time, down the river to Louisville. The first letter from George Keats to John from the Falls City, it is now known, was of May 13, 1819. The next, dated June 16th of that year, announced the birth of the poet's niece. Records of the letters between the brothers, which might throw light upon the affairs of George Keats in Kentucky, are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. Thus, on January 30, 1820, there is a parting note from George to John, referring to a visit George had made the home-land, and his sailing from Liverpool for the United States upon this date. November 8th of that year a letter to John from Louisville refers to a "boat that can't be sold" and of how George is anticipating a "new home of his own in the West, near the sawmill, at the Falls." "Our firm," the letter states, "is 'Geo. Keats & Co.' and my partners are the leading iron-founders of the West." This letter tells of spending whole days in the forest overseeing the felling of trees, and of his intention of sending Miss Brawne, his brother's affianced, "an India-crepe dress, or Merino shawl, things cheap here, but expensive at home in England."

George Keats, it is evident here, writes to John of gifts he would make without knowing of the other's straitened finances. George Keats, it must be remembered at this point in the story, had but lately returned to England for a visit, and incidentally to receive his share of the estate of the brother Thomas, to the costs of whose fatal illness he had contributed extra liberally. During that visit John Keats concealed from George what George, in turn, made no attempt to hide from him, "his very acute fiscal embarrassments." As a consequence, George Keats, who, while not at all wealthy, was yet far from being

dependent on his friends as John was *then*,— returned to the States without leaving a farthing behind for the poet's relief. In fact not only did the more-affluent George Keats not help the all-but-starving poet, but he carried with him to the States some seven hundred pounds gold,—a large part of which was borrowed by John to loan him to this end.

One of the first letters to England from George Keats on his return to the States tells of his hoping to remit about two hundred pounds of the sum just then, but adding his inability to do so at the time, "because of there having still been no sale of the 'boat &' before discussed." It had been during the course of that same visit, too,—to diverge, a moment, to lighter things,—that John Keats had written his sister-in-law at Louisville that "we smoke George about his little girl," and "he runs the common, beaten road of every father, (as I dare say you do of every mother,) there is no child as original! 'Original,'—forsooth!" "And," he adds, "I am surprised to hear of the state of society at Louisville. It seems to me you are just as ridiculous there as we are,—three-penny parties;—half-penny dances!"

Returning from England with the inheritance and the loan made through John, George Keats invested all funds at his command in lumber. He soon amassed a snug little fortune, and erected a still larger mill on First Street, between Washington Street and the river, in the city. Prospering still, in 1835 George Keats erected the splendid mansion on Walnut Street, between Third Street and Fourth, which will long be remembered by all who have seen it as the Elks' Temple. The site was on a square, *then* the most aristocratic in the city; and even as among the most exquisite homes there, this Keats' house was known as the "Englishman's palace." A slight alteration of the roof and the addition of the portico were the only considerable changes required later on to fit it to the Order's ends. There, then, even in a state noted for its hospitality, George Keats was famed far and wide as a host, particularly for the lavish care given the guest beneath his roof.

Meanwhile both George Keats and John did what each might to continue the old, fraternal affection between them. George wrote John letter on letter, filled with most cordial senti-

ments. John, in his turn, dispatched what have been termed his "journal-like missives" at intervals of from three weeks to a month. These letters, the first of which to survive is dated October 1818, were written part at one time, and then added to as the notion seized the man; the poet waiting perhaps from a letter's starting before closing, and placing this in the post.

"John," we read in one place, "strove with affectionate eagerness to prevent brotherly intimacy being impaired by distance, and through the period when he mediated over *Hyperion* and in which Miss Brawne cast her influence over the young poet he never faltered in the regularity of his correspondence." One may also read in those letters how *Bards of Passion*, and the *Eves of St. Mark* and *St. Agnes* were written, information otherwise lost to the world. Of some of his poems again, John sent his brother copies along with the script, "for laughing at"; notable among these was *The Belle-Dame Sans Merci*.

All the while George Keats was growing richer and John was becoming more and more steadily impoverished. But it is absolutely certain, today, that of this George Keats had no inkling. That all London was holding him to scorn for having come and gone and done nothing to help the failing John, he never once suspected until long, long after, when the storm of scathing criticism burst upon his head. Then, John having died, and George having paid the many debts remaining, the reviewers growing more and more bitter at "the rich American brother's lack of just the commonest of fraternal solicitude," George Keats lost heart at any further attempt to right the injustice and wrongs done to himself, and peremptorily refused to lend the slightest aid to any biographer, or other writer, on Keats subjects.

The injustice meted the Keats family in the West at this time is one of the tragedies of literary history. Both George Keats and his wife,—*she* the woman to whom, before her marriage, John had addressed the sonnet: *To G. A. W.*,—were refined, cultivated folk; and they came to feel the criticisms made so very publically for "their not assisting the kinsman over-seas" most keenly. George Keats' position in the life of the city made these attacks all the more trying. He had been very much

in the limelight there from the moment of his reaching affluence. His general deportment,—the shape of his head above all,—was such as to attract attention everywhere. A great "bar of observation,"—someone termed it,—over the eye, indicative of strong perceptive powers, combined with a sense of practical energy in his face to take the eye of the passer, everywhere. Passers wanted to know who *that* man might be,—and they were told they were viewing the "infamous George Keats; the millionaire, who left his distinguished brother to starve to death across the sea." It hurt Keats much, too, from the very make-up of his nature.

The *Dial* at one time wrote of him: "Never acquiescing in the thought of another, George Keats was still *the* impersonification of intellectual modesty. . . . In his time he was said to have had no equal for a *rechêrche* knowledge of English literature and, more especially, of the book-lore of the Elizabethan period.

"George Keats, too, was a religious man;—so religious, in fact, that he could not appear hypocritical in his dogma and when he found the tenets of the popular and fashionable church to conflict with his own beliefs, Keats, though confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, joined the unpopular faith of the simple Unitarians of Louisville, within whose fold he died, in the year 1841."

The man, more than that, had at all times the highest reverence for his poet-brother, treasuring his letters and unpublished poems, and especially the various books, with their clever annotations, which John had sent him from time to time. George, too, essayed his hand at poetry; in a book sent the brother from Louisville he inserted, across the fly-leaf and title-page these lines:

"As to my sonnets, though none else should heed them,
I feel delighted still that you read them!
Of late, too, I have had much calm enjoyment
Stretched on the grass at my best-loved employment—
Of scribbling lines to you!"

In another place, in a letter to his sister, discussing *Don Quixote*, George writes the following passage which is typical of the man being discussed the world around then for his "miserliness":

"Your face is decidedly not Spanish; but English all over. I fancied you to resemble Don Quixote, I should fancy a handsome, intelligent, melancholy countenance, with something wild, but benevolent about the eyes; a lofty fore-head, but not very broad, with finely-arched eye-brows, denoting candour and generosity. If I were to meet such a *man*, I should almost hate myself for laughing at his eccentricities."

Such was the the sort of man all English-speaking nations were subjecting to most scathing reproach for "permitting his brother to pass away in the abject want in which Death found him." Study him a trifle more and fancy what this meant to him. Mark the many-sided man, to be hurt in just *so* many different quarters: "George Keats, the miller of early Louisville, proprietor of both flour and saw mills," we read elsewhere, "was a pugilist of no mean ability when there was need of this. Buxton Forman, his biographer, tells of a battle at fistcuffs between Keats and the local Congressman, Breckenridge, in which Keats was far from emerging the worsted."

George Keats, like his more distinguished brother, was above all else a Nature-lover. One finds, for example, in a letter from him to Fanny Keats, under a date of April 1824, that he emphasizes the charm of the "buckeyes in bloom at Louisville and the blossoming apple and cherry orchards"; of "the blue-grass fields," and "of the blue-bird—the only songster of the locality." He speaks, too, of the "swans" flying by; of the "innumerable woodpeckers; the storks," (evidently herons), "and the cranes in the pools about the city, and the occasional eagle seen in the neighboring woods." In still another letter to this sister—February 7, 1825, the date—we learn of the birth of George's fourth child; who, "had it been a boy, should have been named for the dead poet-brother," whose picture, George tells her, "hangs over the mantel, beside a blooming hyacinth; with Shakespeare above, and Tom above that; and Beaumont and Fletcher on either side." That is the nearest to a close description of his home which we get from any letter; but it stresses the hyacinth, you may mark!

One finds, again, that George Keats served for some time in the City Council at Louisville, and that he aided materially the establishment of what is still the existing school system. Meanwhile, there is proof that George, on several occasions, wrote his brother, advising *him* to come to the States as well. John, in return, pleaded the lack of libraries here as barrier, and, instead, urged George to return overseas to live as soon as he might have 500 pounds set aside.

Running through the life-story of George Keats here in the West, there seems to be a sustained parallel with the career of Hiram Blennerhasset, of Aaron Burr memory. Both men had their mad dreams of fortune,—the one political, the other material. Both, come of families of refinement and really rather comfortable circumstances at the start, went to the new land across the sea to seek better circumstance still. Both prospered, after varying vicissitudes; both enjoyed some years of sweet content; then each lost his *all* and was brought to an untimely death through the treachery of supposed friends.

More interesting, almost, than this phase of the tale is the part played in each man's career by a lovely daughter; with Blennerhasset it was a Theodosia; with Keats, an Isabel.

Keats, it appears, acquired in course what, for those days, was no small fortune here in the West. Then, sometime in 1841, endorsing the paper of a business acquaintance, he was suddenly made penniless and died, as a result of the shock, before the end of the year. In the rather neglected Western Cemetery of Louisville, at the heart now of the city he himself saw grow from a population of about ten thousand, in 1828, to the thriving metropolis of Kentucky, there is an old monument to which even the niggardly Baedeker directs every traveller. The remains to which this stone were set have long ago been removed to Cave Hill Cemetery, in the suburbs of town; but the stone and its epitaph persists:

IN MEMORY OF GEORGE KEATS

A NATIVE OF ENGLAND
BORN MARCH 1, 1778
DIED DECEMBER 24, 1841

Just beneath the major inscription, fronting on a low headstone with the single word *Isabel*, are the lines

ISABEL ROSALIND KEATS

with dates of birth and death that go to show this daughter to have been but seventeen years of age at the time of her demise.

Isabella Keats is said to have resembled her poet-uncle John in features and in character. She was poetic in temperament, fond of painting and of the pen. Her very name is, of course, suggestive of that romantic strain in the family which was most pronounced in the poet John, and the next-most-pronounced in her. "This name," one biographer recalls, "suggests John Keats' poem: *Isabella, or the Pot of Basil*; and her story was scarcely less pathetic than that of the heroine of the poem."

There are two distinct versions of the affair,—that of the world, as such, and then that of the family,—the descendants of the Speeds and the Pyles, who still survive in Louisville.

According to the latter version, as you may get it still at Louisville, Isabella Keats was a girl strikingly free of all morbidness. Her brother Clarence, back from a day's hunting in the vicinity, had slipped to his room to rest, leaving his gun on a sofa in the darkened library the while. Isabella, entering in the dusk, lay down for a snatch of sleep. Her foot touched the trigger of the unsuspected gun near by. Death was the instant result!

The other version is that death came to the girl as voluntary release from a fit of despondency over an unhappy love affair. As the poet Piatt put it:

"After the report of a gun, Isabel was found, late in the evening, in the parlor of her father's home, mortally wounded in the breast, and death ensued within the space of an hour or two.

"Shakespeare, I believe, leaves it doubtful if he would have the reader believe Ophelia a suicide or an unhappy young girl, accidentally drowned!"

There is still another tradition extant Louisville over. It runs as follows: During the summer of 1890 an elderly, refined stranger came, ever so often, to the old Keats home in

the city and asked only to be left alone in the library where the girl met her death. At first, all attempts at obtaining explanations from him were vain. Eventually, however, it was gleaned that the stranger was a Californian, who had returned to Louisville simply to revisit sights and scenes dear to him in the long ago. Among others, he wished to make a pilgrimage to the room in which he had last parted from Isabella Keats, and *this* on the night when she refused to become his bride! Day succeeding day, the man made his pilgrimage. Then he would travel to Cave Hill Cemetery, where the periwinkles grew upon her grave and the ivy clammers off to all but cover the granite block with the huge green-stone cross set to the memory of the Keats clan, all. Finally,—perhaps realizing the attention his comings and his goings were beginning to receive from strangers on his path of pilgrimage,—the man left, for California, it was stated, once more. With him there has gone what last stray information may be, perhaps, of the *actual* cause of the tragic death of Isabella Keats here in the West!

The Imagery of Shelley

(CONCLUDED)

ARTHUR L. KEITH
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IMAGES FROM ANIMAL LIFE

These are not marked by any special keenness of observation such as we might expect from the poet's intimacy with nature. The interest is there but it is one-sided. He rarely sees anything apart from the tragedy of animal life. The pursued beast attracts his attention and arouses his ardent sympathy. The poet's own thoughts

Pursued like raging hounds their father and their prey.

He likens himself to

A herd-abandoned deer struck by the hunter's dart.

The flight and struggle staged in the sky appeal greatly to his fancy but many details are the product of his imagination only. Apollo thus describes Jupiter's fall:

An eagle so, caught in some bursting cloud
On Caucasus; his thunder-baffled wings
Entangled in the whirlwind, and his eyes,
Which gazed on the undazzling sun, now blinded
By the white lightning, while the ponderous hail
Beats on his struggling form, which sinks at length
Prone, and the aerial ice clings over it.

Perhaps the metaphorical flight of song was never so gorgeously arrayed as in the following:

My soul spurned the chains of its dismay
And in the rapid plumes of song
Clothed itself, sublime and strong,—
As a young eagle soars the morning clouds among,
Hovering inverse o'er its accustomed prey:
Till from its station in the heaven of Fame
The Spirit's whirlwind rapt it.

The deepest emotion and most genuine sympathy are revealed from a survey of these images but at the same time it is obvious that the emotions arise from the poet's fancy and contemplation and not from observed facts.

IMAGES FROM PLANT LIFE

The images from plants are few and delicate. The Lady in the garden where the Sensitive Plant grew is

Like a seaflower unfolded beneath the sea.

How characteristic of Shelley to invest the image with the mystery of the invisible realm! The next is curious and fanciful and yet not displeasing:

And Love he sent to bind
The disunited tendrils of that vine
Which bears the wine of life, the human heart.

It may seem as curious to compare a skylark with a rose but we forget the strangeness in our sense of the beauty:

Like a rose embowered
In its own green leaves,
By warm winds deflowered,
Till the scent it gives
Makes faint with too much sweet these heavy-winged thieves.

Tragedy enters also into plant life. From the Adonais, the store-house of so many of the most remarkable images, we take this simile of the dead Adonais:

Like a pale flower by some sad maiden cherished,
And fed with true-love tears instead of dew.
The bloom whose petals, nipped before they blew,
Died on the promise of the fruit, is waste;
The broken lily lies.

Here, as frequently elsewhere, the poet has given the object an atmosphere of delicate associations which furnish the attractiveness, apart from any clear discernment of the real flower or of the purpose it serves.

IMAGES FROM STREAM AND SEA

As might be expected from Shelley's fondness for the water and for rowing, this source supplies him with many images. The allegorical stream of the *Alastor* he expressly adopts as the image of his own life. Its various phases have their counterpart in him. There seems to be a sort of mystic communion existing between his soul and nature as manifested in the sea,

such as a primitive man might have felt, such as gave rise to some of the beautiful creations of Greek mythology. He drew frequently upon the sea in his effort to solve the mystery of existence:

The everlasting universe of things
Flows through the Mind, and rolls its rapid waves,
Now dark—now glittering—now reflecting gloom—
Now lending splendor, where from secret springs
The source of human thought its tribute brings
Of waters.

The processes of change and of the transitoriness of things are finely described:

Worlds on worlds are rolling ever
From creation to decay,
Like the bubbles on a river,
Sparkling, bursting, borne away.

The sea becomes a symbol of thought. So Greece is

Built below the tide of war,
Based on the crystalline sea
Of thought and its eternity.

The next example is as delicate and fair though in using the moon as a ship on the sea of the sky, we may doubt if he renders clearer the ostensible object of the image:

Blue Proteus and his humid Nymphs shall mark
The shadow of fair ships (as mortals see)
The floating bark of the light-laden moon,
With that white star, its sightless pilot's crest
Borne down the rapid sunset's ebbing sea.

And lastly we quote from the closing stanza of the *Adonais* the image which through subsequent events has proved to be the most remarkable of all and seems almost prophetic of his own death, an image which, expressed in incomparable language, involves in one the ideas of his inspiration, his own desires, and the great mystery:

My spirit's bark is driven
Far from the shore, far from the trembling throng
Whose sails were never to the tempest given,
The massy earth and the sphered skies are riven!
I am borne darkly and fearfully, afar!

IMAGES FROM SHADOWS

The significance of these images lies in their variety and great number. Like those from clouds and mists they suggest the range of the poet's thought which led him away from the substantial realities of life to a most attenuated idealism. The image of the shadow serves many purposes. It often represents mystery. The Earth-mother he addresses thus:

I have watched
Thy shadow, and the darkness of thy steps,
And my heart ever gazes on the depths
Of thy deep mysteries.

Mystery and the terrible are united when the image is applied to Death:

For well he knew that mighty shadow loves
The slimy caverns of the populous deep.

Sometimes it seems to emphasize the lack of substance or reality:

His name, that shadow of his withered might.

In an entirely different sense the image may foretell or fore-shadow coming events:

And saw two hosts conflicting in the air,—
The shadows doubtless of the unborn time
Cast on the mirror of the night.

The poet may mean to contrast the slight, though precious, vision he had of the spirit of beauty with the full reality that lay beyond his ken when he says:

Sudden thy shadow fell on:—
I shrieked and clasped my hands in ecstasy.

But it must be said of many of the poet's images in this field especially, as well as in others, that they are not clearly conceived, that the purpose is not obvious. Perhaps we may apply to Shelley the words he ascribes to Prometheus:

Obscurely through my brain, like shadows dim,
Sweep awful thoughts, rapid and thick.

IMAGES FROM CLOUDS

The application of this group differs as much as the clouds themselves. In a sense the clouds were Shelley's native home. Obedient to his fancy they assumed form and hue as varied as his own emotions. His *Ode to the Cloud*, which he has so vividly endowed with life, is significant of his overwhelming passion for this ethereal element. Without any attempt to symbolize spiritual relationships he often uses the cloud to represent a physical phase:

And felt the boat speed o'er the tranquil sea,
Like a torn cloud before the hurricane.

But a more spiritual meaning is apparent in the next example in which he seeks a symbol for man's transitory lot:

We are as clouds that veil the midnight moon:
How restlessly they speed and gleam and quiver
Streaking the darkness radiantly! yet soon
Night closes round and they are lost forever.

For sheer beauty and splendor where shall we find the equal of the following?:

Athens arose: a city such as vision
Builds from the purple crags and silver towers
Of battlemented cloud, as in derision
Of kingliest masonry.

And again:

Midst others of less note came one frail form
A phantom among men, companionless
As the last cloud of an expiring storm
Whose thunder is its knell.

This last example, taken from the *Adonais*, is beautifully descriptive of the poet's own isolated situation.

IMAGES FROM VAPOR, MIST

As with clouds and shadows, so with mists and vapors Shelley's fancy was prone to dwell. Their lack of substance corresponds well with the many nebulous creations of his imagination. Observation has played some part with these images but many of their phases are the product of the poet's

peculiar fancy. Some have been inspired by a beautiful impulse to meet a beautiful situation. The light of intellectual beauty is

Like mist o'er mountains driven.

In the *Adonais* the emotions, desires, and inspirations gather about the departed poet and

The moving pomp might seem
Like pageantry of mist on an autumnal stream.

In the *Alastor* the Poet's image was

Even as a vapor fed with golden beams
That ministered on sunlight, ere the west
Eclipses it.

It is most characteristic of Shelley that the spirits of the mind are

Like flock of clouds in Spring's delightful weather

and

Like fountain-vapors when the winds are dumb.

There is an epic grandeur in the next:

And lofty ships even now,
Like vapors anchored to a mountain edge,
Freighted with fire and whirlwind, wait at Scala.

In a simile that shows more than the usual keenness of observation Panthea describes Prometheus's influence over her:

And, like the vapors, when the sun sinks down,
Gathering again in drops upon the pines,
And tremulous as they, in the deep night
My being was condensed.

And finally:

Death is a low mist which cannot blot
The brightness it may veil.

IMAGES FROM MUSIC

Other fields of nature which furnished images to Shelley are disregarded here, not because they are lacking in interest

or beauty but because they add little to our knowledge of the poet's general habits of thought and imagery. But there are still other sources of imagery so characteristic of Shelley which must be examined. One of these is music, of which he was passionately fond. The musical qualities of his verse are often noted. In the delicacy and variations of music he finds a likeness for mankind. We are

like forgotten lyres whose dissonant strings
Give various response to each varying blast,
To whose frail frame no second motion brings
One mood or modulation like the last.

He has established a close bond between music and memory in the next. The poet resigns himself to images of the past

Like winds that bear sweet music when they breathe
Through some dim latticed chamber.

In the next he obviously associates mystic and divine qualities with music in an image which is intended to represent Shelley's own solitary position:

As a long forgotten lyre
Suspended in a solitary dome
Of some mysterious and deserted fane.

The memory of the spirits fled is

like the omnipotence
Of music when the inspired voice and lute
Languish, ere yet the responses are mute
Which through the deep and labyrinthine soul
Like echoes through long caverns, wind and roll.

Intellectual beauty which, as we have just seen, the poet compares to mist o'er mountains driven, is also like

Music by the night-wind sent
Through the strings of some still instrument.

IMAGES FROM CHILDHOOD

This source of Shelley's imagery deserves especial notice as it stands in striking contrast to others, particularly to those drawn from nature, and shows the poet in a more rational and human aspect. In the beauty and innocence of childhood

he has found images which reflect a real intimacy with one portion of mankind. It is not an assumed interest, for his biography as well as certain of his poems show that his aversion to society did not extend to children. He has probably invested childhood with graces of the dreamy order, but this fact does not alter the personal touch of these images. Perhaps we may properly say that Shelley was himself always something of a child whose psychology did not come to its full development on all sides, a point which we shall discuss below. These images are used for a wide range of objects. The poet has forced our attention to the great contrast in the next:

And there the sea I found
Calm as a cradled child in dreamless slumber bound.

The tendrils twine around the boughs

as gamesome infants' eyes,
With gentle meanings and most innocent wiles,
Fold their beams round the hearts of those that love.

One can scarcely doubt the sincerity of the poet's love for children after reading these words. In the next he has found in the beauty of childhood a garment to hide the ugliness of death:

A slope of green access,
Where like an infant's smile, over the dead
A light of laughing flowers along the grass is spread.

But the poet's fancy has embellished some of these images with details which could have been no part of his real experience. It is just as if he delighted to think out pretty stories and then drew upon these stories for images. The following is a good example of this tendency:

Till hate and fear and pain . . .

.
Leave Man even as a leprous child is left
Who follows a sick beast to some warm cleft
Of rocks, through which the might of healing springs is poured.
Then when he wanders home with rosy smiles
Unconscious and his mother fears awhile
It is a spirit—then weeps on her child restored.

The strange pleasure which Shelley often found in the gruesome invades even the realm of childhood:

And one sweet laugh, most horrible to hear,
As of a joyous infant waked, and playing
With its dead mother's breast.

IMAGES FROM THOUGHTS, DREAMS, EMOTIONS

A poet does not ordinarily draw upon this field for imagery. To do so would seem to defeat the very purpose of an image, if this purpose is to illustrate or even merely embellish some object. Shelley says in his introduction to the *Prometheus Unbound*: "The imagery which I have employed will be found, in many instances, to have been drawn from the operations of the human mind, or from those external actions by which they are expressed." He is probably mistaken in assuming that the Greek poets used this method to any great extent, though it is known to them. The phenomenon in Shelley's case is easily explained on the ground that his dream-life was the real life. Therefore these images, which in one sense are not images, become among the most characteristic of the poet.

The skylark is

Like an unbodied joy whose race is just begun.

Shelley's tendency was always to unbody realities. Spring's soft coming is

as the memory of a dream
Which now is sad because it hath been sweet;
Like genius, or like joy, which riseth up
As from the earth, clothing with golden clouds
The desert of our life.

Other examples, taken from many, follow:

- (1) Heaven smiles and faiths and empires gleam
Like wrecks of a dissolving dream.
- (2) Swift as the radiant shapes of sleep
From one whose dreams are paradise
Fly when the fond wretch wakes to weep.

- (3) Like the man's thought dark in the infant's brain,
Like aught that is which wraps what is to be,
Art's deathless dreams lay veiled.

The next exactly illustrates Shelley's tendency to reverse the normal usage of employing a concrete to represent an abstract ideal. As a rule, the poet would take the products of thought and body them forth in some physical structure, but Shelley takes the physical avalanche and likens it to the processes of thought:

The sun-awakened avalanche! whose mass
Thrice sifted by the storm, had gathered there
Flake by flake,—in heaven-defying minds
As thought by thought is piled, till some great truth
Is loosened, and the nations echo round.

We need not seek a rational explanation for the phenomenon of Shelley. He was irrational, if judged by the standards of the world. A partial explanation may be found in the extraordinary times in which he lived. Revolution was in the air. Thought was throwing off its shackles even while convention was holding more stupidly and defiantly to its own. Circumstances thrust Shelley into the midst of these contrary forces. He was a victim of both tendencies. He was cruelly treated by constituted authority. But in the event, not even his boasted liberty was kind to him. As the high hopes engendered in him by the French Revolution were doomed to disappointment, so personal liberty did not fulfil her promises. He was constantly at war, not alone with the external world and with those of his household, but with himself. Out of the travail of this unending conflict were born those sublimated emotions which are expressed in his imagery. But this is not a sufficient explanation. We shall probably be right in saying that Shelley's psychology represents a curious throw-back to a far more primitive stage of thought than that of the early nineteenth century. His mind belonged to the age when the beautiful creations of Greek mythology were taking shape. In his many allusions to Greek thought and Greek art he seems to have recognized a spirit kindred to his own. Shelley would have been a myth-creator had he lived in the pre-historic period of Greece. In fact, the *Prometheus Unbound* does contain

some original mythological contributions. If we can by imagination transport one of the creators of Greek myths down the ages and place him in our own time, in the scientific environment of our age, and picture his bewilderment in his strange surroundings, we shall have a partial explanation of Shelley's peculiar and isolated condition. Shelley's religion was essentially the worship of the beautiful and the mystic. This was but another aspect of the primitive Greek mind which sought the beautiful and expressed it in its works of art. Over the lapse of centuries the Greek mind developed into rationalistic systems of thought. Shelley's brief career did not arrive at such a consummation, even granting that the inclination was there. He is even pre-Aeschylean in his development. Aeschylus had his *Prometheus Bound* but a later member of the trilogy, now unfortunately lost, secured his release based on the assumption of a reconciliation between Prometheus and Zeus. The Greek poet is seeking a rationalistic interpretation of the universe. Shelley shrinks from a catastrophe so feeble as that of reconciling the Champion with the Oppressor of mankind. So Shelley's development never progressed beyond the stage represented by the primitive Greek mind which was wholly absorbed in the wonderful and the beautiful. This general attitude will account for the main characteristics of Shelley's imagery. Like his spiritual forebears, he saw nature instinct with life and beauty. His imagery reflects the beautiful in a manner unsurpassed in literature.

One hundred years have passed since Shelley, following the beckoning star of Adonais, pushed his bark far from the shore, a shore thronged with people who did not understand him and whom he understood not. Time has dropped the mantle of charity over his failings. We may still say that the sheer loveliness of his images makes faint with too much sweet our more rationalistic senses, but we must admit that he has left for all generations the most exquisitely wrought images the world has ever seen.

Book Reviews

FEDERALISM IN NORTH AMERICA. A Comparative Study of Institutions in the United States and Canada. By Herbert Arthur Smith. Boston: The Chipman Law Publishing Company, 1923. 328 pp.

Only recently have any considerable number of our colleges and universities appreciated the value of a comparative study of American political institutions with those of other countries. Content with a knowledge of our own political system, the study of government has been marked by narrowness and provincialism. Nor have scholars been altogether alert to the supreme need in this field of study, and this is especially true of federalism in North America. Professor Smith, realizing the opportunity that existed for a book on this subject, has furnished us the volume under review.

In comparing the governments of Canada and the United States, Professor Smith does not follow the usual method of describing each government separately. On the contrary, he takes up first a comparative analysis of the federal idea, then an examination of the executive, legislative and judicial organs of the two countries. Nor is the author adverse to punctuating his comparisons now and then with telling criticisms, and usually these are directed at American rather than Canadian institutions. In this, however, he is on solid ground. If called upon, for instance, to decide concerning the relative advantages of the methods employed in the two countries for the distribution of governmental powers among the federal and local governments, one could hardly hesitate to prefer the Canadian system. Clearly the whole trend of our economic and social development has made ever increasing demands upon our national government; state boundaries have been gradually breaking away, and matters at one time of purely local interest have become national in their scope and influence. This movement has gone to such lengths that certain recent American writers point with regret to the fact that "our dual system is losing its duality. The states are fading out of the picture." And yet the supreme need is patent on every hand. As the problems of society become national in their sweep, it is disir-

able that the central government should have as free a hand as possible in meeting new conditions as they arise. But under our federal scheme of government this is impossible save by a broader and broader construction of the constitution or recourse to constitutional amendments.

Moreover, from the point of view of efficient government, there is precious little to be said in favor of "separation of powers," "checks and balances," and the meticulous care with which our constitution protects individual and property rights. Professor Smith, in this connection, supports the superiority of the responsible government of Canada with cogent arguments and then, with a note of apology, explains that America after all was perhaps not so much concerned with administrative efficiency as with the principle of personal liberty.

No part of this volume will be more interesting and revealing to American students than that dealing with the present status of Canada in international society. A good deal has been written recently on the evolution of Canadian autonomy and the views of a Canadian writer, such as Professor Smith, should be favorably received.

Naturally in a work of this brevity some statements are bound to appear without the touch of accurate qualification. Although such cases are rare in these skillfully written pages, the following criticisms should be noted: The statement (p. 220) that the national government may not burden state officers with federal administrative duties is misleading and overlooks the fundamental theory on which rests the relation of the state judiciaries to the national judiciary. Attention is called, in this connection, to the opinion of the Supreme Court in *Siebold's Case* (100 U. S. 371) and the more recent opinion of the court in the *Selective Draft Cases*. (245 U. S. 366.) Nor is Professor Smith correct in assuming (p. 77) that the power of removal belongs inherently to the president of the United States. Rather the power of removal is incident to the power of appointment—a doctrine recognized in *Parsons v. U. S.*, 167 U. S. 324, and followed in recent cases. (*Überlein v. U. S.*; *Norris v. U. S.*; *Wallace v. U. S.*; decided 1921). Professor Smith is again lacking in accuracy when he implies (p.

147) that the United States cannot in all cases give full effect to treaty obligations. Such a contention is clearly disallowed by the Supreme Court in *Missouri v. Holland*, 252 U. S. 416, 1920 (The Migratory Bird Act Case). The assertion (p. 75) that "tax bills may lawfully originate in the Senate" is obviously an error. In the light of the Maternity Act of November 23, 1921, and other measures, the statement (p. 142) that the states do not receive any money from Washington" cannot stand. It should be pointed out also that the Income Tax Case (*Pollock v. Farmers' Loan and Trust Co.*, 157 U. S. 429) was decided in 1895 not 1896.

These shortcomings, however, do not detract materially from the general excellence of the book, and it should be said that the intricacies of our constitutional system, in the main, are handled fairly well. The appendices, which embody the constitutions of the United States and Canada, and a fairly workable index, add to the value and usefulness of the book.

ALPHEUS T. MASON.

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE, 1878-1919. By G. P. Gooch. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923. vi, 728 pp.

ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DURING THE LAST FIFTY YEARS. By Professor Achille Viallate. (The Institute of Politics Publications, Williams College.) New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923. xv, 180 pp.

Every American reader who so desires may now obtain in convenient form an accurate account of the international relations of the four decades ending with the Treaty of Versailles. Probably never since the first history was written have students of diplomacy enjoyed such an opportunity as that afforded by the opening up of the German, Austrian, and Russian archives after the close of the war. The secret diplomacy of the pre-war years and the war years is no longer secret. Of the revelations from the archives and of the numerous memoirs of European statesmen and others published since the war, Professor Gooch has made excellent use. To all appearances he has neglected no source which might throw light upon his subject. His book—contrary to the impression conveyed by the

title—deals solely with European international relations from the close of the Congress of Berlin to the “settlement” at the end of the World War.

Of especial interest are the chapters dealing with events immediately preceding the outbreak of war. These chapters ought to be read by every American still suffering from the effects of our war propaganda. The myth of the “Potsdam Conference” disappears entirely, and instead of our wartime picture of a war deliberately provoked by Germany, we see that the nations of Europe, in Lloyd George’s words, “staggered and stumbled” into a war which “no one at the head of affairs quite meant.” We see that the war must not be charged solely to German militarism, but to Militarism, German, Austrian, Russian, or even French. Of the five great powers immediately concerned, only England strove earnestly for a settlement by conference. All the others were for a settlement by bluff—by marshalling a show of superior force.

Equally clear and enlightening are the accounts of wartime diplomacy and of the Versailles Congress, while the background for the whole war period is painstakingly laid in the earlier chapters. The volume will be indispensable to students of recent European history.

Professor Viallate’s book treats the same period, but from a different angle and in much briefer compass. His main thesis is to show that the industrialization of the great nations of the world in the last fifty years has had two contradictory results—that it has at the same time increased their interdependence and accentuated their rivalries. He shows plainly enough that the struggle for colonies and spheres of influence as markets, sources of raw materials and food supply, and fields for investment, led straight up to the war. He dwells on the economic solidarity adopted perforce by both groups of belligerents, with the plain implication that coöperation which is good in war ought to be equally good in peace. He laments the minor (but side-steps the greater) crimes against economic coöperation embodied in the peace treaties, but finds some hopeful signs in the creation of the International Labor Office under the League of Nations and in the results of the Washington Conference

of 1921-22. Though none too well thought out, the book is to be commended as a plea for a greater measure of international coöperation in the husbanding and distribution of the world's remaining natural resources. It should be read in connection with an earlier but more mature and incisive study—Mr. J. A. Hobson's *Imperialism* (1905).

It is interesting that, as Professor Viallate closes his study with a plea for economic coöperation, Professor Gooch's concluding sentence declares that "the beginning of wisdom is to recognize that the survival of European civilization is bound up with the vitality and authority of a League of Nations embracing victors and vanquished alike within its sheltering arms."

JULIUS W. PRATT.

Annapolis, Md.

MEN LIKE GODS. By H. G. Wells. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923. 327 pp.

In 1921, two scientists on the planet of Utopia, which lies very close to Earth, succeeded in their effort to rotate a portion of the Utopian material universe into the F dimension, and, greatly to the astonishment of everyone, brought back ten people who happened to be together on an English road at the moment of contact of the two planets. The people from the Earth included a sub-editor on a pessimistic newspaper, two renowned statesmen with their guests and servant, and in the third group, a millionaire, an American movie magnate, "a movie star," a French journalist and the chauffeur. The editor was very tired and perplexed by this "Age of Confusion," and he had the "will-to-utopia" which is a necessity for any understanding of its conditions. The others were first incredulous, then rebellious, and stated at length their objections to the whole Utopian system as it was shown and explained to them. They were told that after centuries of struggle between people who valued property above all, and those who gave first importance to human welfare, had come, gradually, almost imperceptibly, the time when the idea of "creative service" had replaced the idea of "competition to possess." They had arrived at the stage

where there was no need of a central government, but "decisions in regard to any particular matter were made by people who knew most about the matter." "The beginnings of the new order were in discussions, books and psychological laboratories; the soil in which it grew was found in schools and colleges." Said the spokesman for the Utopians, "Our education is our government." Every child is well born and given the education which makes it know that creative service is the rule of the state. It is so taught that "its curiosity flowers into scientific passion, its combativeness is set to fight disorder, its inherent pride and ambition are directed toward an honorable share in the common achievement. It goes to the work that attracts it and chooses what it will do." There is peace from war and economic strife, but there is never ending effort to improve conditions of every sort, and to learn.

Mr. Wells has combined here what Mr. Mumford has classified as "utopias of escape" and "utopias of reconstruction." It is a story of men who are like gods because they consciously take control of Nature and of human tendencies, as far as possible, and work toward definite ends. Such books give pleasure to many, are a bore to some, a red flag to more. Into the last two classes Mr. Wells doubtless puts those people who cannot understand what is being said because they have not "corresponding ideas and suitable words in their minds." Perhaps there will be less antagonism aroused by this book because the Utopia is on another planet. One gets the feeling that the author is an old man, that he at last concedes that he can never, never live in his "Modern Utopia," and for his own sake and for the sake of bearing witness, he ascends Mt. Pisgah and describes the Promised Land, which, he believes with all his heart, Earthlings can reach if leaders will keep their faith, and word by word, and step by step, lead their people on.

MARY O. COWPER.

- THE CAUSES AND CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By H. E. Egerton. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923. vi, 207 pp.
- REVOLUTIONARY NEW ENGLAND, 1691-1776. By James Truslow Adams. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1923. xiv, 469 pp.
- THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: A CONSTITUTIONAL INTERPRETATION. By Charles Howard McIlwain. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923. xi, 196 pp.

For various reasons not necessary to mention, the American Revolution has become, during the past few years, a subject of renewed and somewhat intense interest by the general public and the specialized scholar. The three volumes under consideration should make an appeal to both groups, for in content and in methods of presentation they are gauged for different types of readers. The appeal of the first is undoubtedly to the general public desiring elementary information, that of the third is to the specialized scholar, and that of the second is a happy combination of both kinds of appeal.

Professor Egerton, long known for his researches in colonial history, has made a popular presentation of conclusions derived from his extensive investigations. Briefly, his book is based on lectures once delivered at the University of Oxford, and under eight headings he treats with perspicacity and not too great detail some of the major questions which confront every one who conscientiously inquires into the causes and nature of the revolt of the American colonies. The distinctive feature of the book is the resume of British colonial policy and administrative methods in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and in the nature of that policy and its administrative machinery he finds the underlying causes of the Revolution—a view which was also a favorite theme of a distinguished American scholar, the late Professor Osgood. Pertinent are the following conclusions. "The American Revolution was in fact inevitable, unless a wholly different spirit could have been introduced in the relations between Great Britain and her colonies from that which was at the time dominant." (197). "There is nothing, I think, to point to the conclusion that, unless a wholly new spirit had been introduced into British policy the mere return to the status quo before the peace of Paris would have brought any lasting settlement." (199).

More significant than Professor Egerton's book are those of two American scholars of the newer school of history. Mr. Adams' treatise supplements his previous volume, *The Founding of New England*. It admirably traces for New England the great changes that occurred in American life throughout the eighteenth century. To as great, if not a greater degree than his former volume, it manifests that quality so essential, yet so often poorly evolved, to any great historical writing, the power of synthesis, the gift of understanding and interpreting the findings of the technicians and the art of lending to these the element of imagination. As such the book is a masterpiece. The dominant themes are the ways in which the New England colonies diverged more and more from the mother country and how within these colonies there also developed a cleavage between the tidewater and the interior settlements. The Revolution was therefore a natural eruption in which the most important factor was the frontier. In the immediate future, if not always, *Revolutionary New England* will prove indispensable for the understanding of the conditions of American life which preceded the revolt of the colonies.

One of the points on which Professor Egerton and also Mr. Adams contribute nothing new—one also which historians have more and more inclined to reject as invalid—is the claim of the colonists that they were by the nature of things exempt from Parliamentary control. To this claim Professor McIlwain brings a startling contribution, that there were important precedents for the colonial argument. These he finds in obscure documents relating to Ireland, the Isle of Man, the Channel Islands, and Scotland. Illustrative of the conclusions drawn two are perhaps the most interesting. One, that the Declaratory Act of 1776, asserting Parliamentary control over the colonies, is identical in tenor and wording with the Declaratory Act for Ireland of 1719; yet in 1783 the Irish Declaratory Act was repealed and it was specifically asserted in the act of repeal that the people of Ireland were bound only by the laws made by His Majesty and their own Parliament—a recognition of the principle of legislative independence previously claimed by the colonists. The other suggestive conclusion is that accord-

ing to Calvin's Case, decided in 1608, the only allegiance that binds a subject to his Sovereign is that of the law of the dominion of which he is a member. These and similar conclusions raise interesting questions. Were not John Adams and the radicals of America justified in their contention for legislative independence? Is not the real issue between the colonies and the mother country to be found, not in economic relations nor technicalities of colonial administration, but in the constitution of the British Empire? Thus a new avenue of inquiry, generally supposed to be closed, is opened up and in that new inquiry Professor McIlwain must be considered the pioneer.

W. K. B.

JAY'S TREATY: A STUDY IN COMMERCE AND DIPLOMACY. By Samuel Flagg Bemis, Ph.D. (Knights of Columbus Historical Series.) New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923. xvii, 388 pp.

There are several things the lay reader should know about this book. The fact that the winner of a very substantial prize offered by the Knights of Columbus is not a Roman Catholic, goes far to establish the impartial historical value of this series—issued or to be issued. In the main the author does not disturb the conclusions which historical scholarship had already established—but he has produced an abundance of new evidence to support the conclusions, and he has written what may be regarded as the last word on this subject—at least for many years.

There is little doubt but that the Jay Treaty was exceedingly unpopular at the time it was reported and ratified. Why then was it accepted by the United States? Simply because the business interests of the nation demanded it. The author of this book does not hesitate to say it should have been called "Hamilton's Treaty." And who was Hamilton? The exponent and champion of what we should today term "Big Business." This book demonstrates conclusively that at the time of the negotiation of the treaty, the United States was England's best customer—neither side had any desire to break up those business relationships upon which the prosperity of both so

largely depended. That this involved a surrender by the United States of some principles for which she was supposed to stand was unfortunate—but all the raging of the populace did not prevent Congress from going steadily on to do the bidding of certain Federalist economic interests who were conducting an able lobby. Yet this is not inconsistent with the author's theory that Hamilton's share in the treaty was a contributing factor toward the establishment of the doctrine of isolation by his emphasis on strictly American interests.

The book is an able piece of work and is an encouraging evidence of an awakening on the part of Americans to the importance of their foreign relations.

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

Univ. of Michigan.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, HIS DOCTRINE AND ART IN THEIR HISTORICAL RELATIONS. By Arthur Beatty. University of Wisconsin Studies, Madison, Wisconsin, 1922. 282 pp.

Taking as his thesis the idea that Wordsworth was a reactionary who revolted against the current philosophies of his day in favor of the tradition of Locke and Hartley, Professor Beatty has produced a book that makes a very decided and valuable contribution toward understanding one of England's greatest poets. In developing this thesis Professor Beatty gives Wordsworth a consistency hitherto unrealized. In fact, one may wonder if he does not give this philosophical Wordsworth too much consistency, at the expense of the traditional estimates of the poet which, after all, must be one side of the picture and to which Professor Beatty devotes little attention. The new Wordsworth will hardly supplant the old one as fully as he does in the volume under review. He will probably amalgamate and coexist with the traditional Wordsworth after the devious manner of human character that refuses to be perfectly consistent; but he can scarcely be abolished. He is a reality, an achievement in critical scholarship that will give Professor Beatty a standing of really primary importance among the students of Wordsworth.

The first part of the book deals mainly with Wordsworth's attack upon poetic diction, his Godwinism, and his connection with the School of Taste of the later 18th century. In the latter case the author performs a very useful service by bringing together passages from these little-read aesthetic theorists for comparison with Wordsworth's similar and derived views. It was Wordsworth's connection with this school, and especially with Locke and Hartley, that laid the foundation for the philosophy that underlies all of his later poetry.

In the development of Wordsworth's use of Hartley's doctrine of association lies Professor Beatty's main contribution. According to Hartley, sensations are the primary basis of mental life. They depend upon physical contact with external things and develop through association into (1) simple ideas (i.e., ideas of sensation surviving the stimulus) and (2) complex, or intellectual, ideas, which are compounded of simple ideas. By a close study of Wordsworth's almost neglected prose and by quotations from Wordsworth's friends, Professor Beatty shows that Wordsworth knew and was devoted to the associationist philosophy and that he conceived of his poems (*vide* prefaces and letters) as a unified expression of it. The poems themselves are compared with passages from Locke and Hartley to show that Wordsworth is really a faithful and consistent exponent of their philosophical ideas. Hence Wordsworth's insistence on experience, or sensation as the only real teacher. From Hartley's system also evolves Wordsworth's development of the individual in three stages as described in *Tintern Abbey* and adhered to in subsequent poems. Hence also Wordsworth's subordination of the doctrine of Nature to that of the development of the human mind, and hence Wordsworth's theory of the imagination as nothing more than simple *..ruth*, or "Reason in her most exalted mood".

Professor Beatty analyzes both *The Prelude* and *The Excursion* as associationist poems, the first showing how one person attained to true knowledge by analysis of his own mental development, the second showing "how the despondency of the age may be changed to hope through the attainment of real knowledge." One feature of this discussion that should be of

general usefulness to the student of Wordsworth is a table of the main incidents treated in *The Prelude*, *The Excursion*, and *The Recluse*, together with the actual chronology and location of the incidents in Wordsworth's life.

In a situation rife with controversial possibilities Professor Beatty has pretty well lived up to his announced purpose of avoiding critical hostilities. There may be some faint indications of sniping in the general direction of Professor Babbitt and his followers, but in the main, the author is content to let Wordsworth speak for himself. Perhaps there are traces of special pleading—a desire to buttress a little too securely the consistency of the newly consistent Wordsworth—in dealing with Wordsworth's theory of poetic diction, M. Legouis' statement of Wordsworth's Rousseauism, and Senor Madariaga's criticism of Wordsworth for ignoring in *The Prelude* his affair with Annette Vallon.

The book is rather difficult reading. Its pages are stiff with the citations and extracts required to establish the author's position. This necessary inconvenience will be cheerfully endured by the scholar for the benefit of the really valuable contribution Professor Beatty makes to the comprehension of Wordsworth. It is to be hoped that Professor Beatty will later find a more popular means of presenting him to a reading public more extensive than the ranks of Wordsworth specialists.

N. I. WHITE.

WOMEN OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Winifred Stephens. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1922. 287 pp.

This book deals with two subjects of unfailing appeal, and should interest a variety of readers. No part of the great human comedy has fascinated the imaginations of mankind so markedly as has the French Revolution, and innumerable books have been written on its kaleidoscopic panorama. Not the least of the merits of this new one is the author's skillful use of the mass of literature on the subject; indeed it serves for its own theme somewhat the same purpose as the theatrical spotlight in a *revue*, concentrating attention upon the part played by women in the Revolution and causing the general events and

conditions to recede into the background. In her introduction the author expressly disclaims originality of research, and acknowledges that she has entirely evaded one of the most interesting and difficult phases of her topic, the part played by women in the secret societies of the day.

The chief value of the book is its vividness and the mass of concrete material which achieves this quality. Even the scholar can not but find a fascination in viewing again in such a definite and novel focusing what may be to him familiar facts. To him, browsing through its pages and noting its frequent and obliging specific footnotes will be like taking a walk through half-remembered fields of childhood; books he has loved and forgotten will again become vivid.

It was not, however, to gain the interest of or minister to any sentimental reminiscences of experts that the book was written; it is quite evidently an outgrowth of the wave of intense interest in the feminist movement, and is a most valuable contribution to the materials on that subject. There are abundant evidences that as a subject of so-called popular appeal the feminist movement has fallen from its high estate, but there are still thoughtful persons—especially women—who welcome new light on its history and psychology; to such women this book must be to some extent disheartening and disquieting. Its picture of what its author in her introduction calls "a complete drama of Feminism in four acts" is invaluable, and her explanation of the collapse of the Feminist movement and the motives and reasoning of French women in general during the crucial five years with which she deals is thought-provoking.

Not alone learned historians and purposeful women, but those who come under the denomination of general reader can find pleasure in this book, packed as it is with colorful descriptions and striking anecdotes, and presenting an alluring procession of women of every class and kind—a procession made up of clearly defined individuals.

FRONDE KENNEDY.

MEDIAEVAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO MODERN CIVILIZATION. A Series of Lectures Delivered at King's College, University of London. Edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, with a Preface by Ernest Barker. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1922. 168 pp.

The Middle Ages are commonly regarded as a benighted period during which Western Europe lay asleep until the Renaissance (a little childish, of course, in its exuberance and simple delights) should in due course awaken it to what we so proudly call the modern world. Thus has a wise Providence, created in our own image, dealt bountifully with us, who rise now as the culmination of its aims. But Providence is really perhaps wiser than we, with our kindly interpretation of ourselves; and it dealt rather more bountifully perhaps than we suppose with the Middle Ages, as it has done also with other peoples and periods which we fondly regard as benighted because they are not as we are. It is a strange idea that the Middle Ages should be thought all of one piece, that from the fall of Rome to the fall of Constantinople should be thought a straight stretch of even unaltered darkness. The real darkness, however, is in our minds. The twelfth century was as different from the fourteenth as the eighteenth from the twentieth. Human hearts were as true and as false, men were as wise and as stupid, as strong and as weak, and so on, before the Renaissance as after. And it is very important to remember that the thirteenth century (or the fourteenth) was as "modern" in its day as our twentieth, as alive and vivid, as full of agitation and excitement and the sense of its growth, as our twentieth.

Human development has not been an easy arithmetic progression; but we cannot escape the truism that to-day is born of yesterday, and in spite of some silly depreciation, even from the Dean of St. Paul's, it is certain that most of the present problems of Europe, social and political, trace their parentage to the Middle Ages, and many of the remedies may be found there also. The mediaeval contributions to modern civilization are two-fold: those from the glorified, idealized Middle Ages, as they appear to the poets and artists and some of the advocates of guild socialism; and the other contributions, more direct and not less profound, which appear so plainly and fully

in these nine special studies of religion, philosophy, science, art, poetry, education, social ideas, economics, and politics, as they draw upon mediaeval sources. In these, and in the brilliant introductory lecture, the reader will find information where it is needed, illumination of what is already familiar or half-known, and a sober, informal presentation of the case for the Middle Ages in their weakness and their strength, their crudities and their triumphs, their littleness and their variety.

P. F. B.

MANKIND AT THE CROSSROADS. By Edward M. East. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923. 360 pp.

When a specialist with interests broader than his chosen subject discusses problems of general importance the results are usually interesting and are not infrequently worthy of serious consideration. As a biologist Mr. West believes that his science has a real contribution to make to the work of the political scientist, historian, and sociologist, and in this book he has ventured to apply his idea to the study of world population, its possibilities of future growth and associated problems. His pages are sometimes excessively cluttered with statistics which must necessarily remain in the realm of approximations, but his major points are reasonably clear.

"The case is built on the simple premise that man is an animal, a highly cerebrated animal it is true, but still an animal." Once this proposition is accepted, and few biologists will question its truth, it follows that man is subject to the same laws of heredity that affect animals of a lower order. The author's second premise, that the Malthusian theory is substantially correct, again will not be accepted without dispute. When the population of the world doubled in the nineteenth century, this unprecedented increase was eagerly cited by militarists and others interested in the future growth of population as conclusive proof that Malthus had been a misguided pessimist. Today every one knows that population in the last century increased rapidly as a result of the Industrial Revolution and of the constant increase of land areas under cultivation, and now it is generally recognized that this expansion can-

not go on indefinitely, that there are limits beyond which it will be impossible to extend cultivable areas. The United States, Canada, Australia, European Russia, temperate Africa and South America are still in the period of increasing agricultural returns though the present generation has seen the passing of the public lands in this country. There remain in South America and in Africa alone areas of any considerable size for future exploitation. When they shall have been fully occupied intensive agriculture will furnish the main source of food for further increases of population. Schemes for increasing available food supplies, such as their production in the laboratory, the discovery of new and more abundant crops, the use of the Arctic regions for the raising of huge herds of reindeer, are set aside as chimerical. Accordingly, the future growth of population is in general limited by the number of acres which may be put under cultivation. Armed with an approximation of this total, and assuming that not less than two and one-half acres are required to support one person in the standard of living maintained by the peasant of western Europe, the maximum world population can not exceed five and one-half billions. For the United States the author is inclined to fix the limit below two hundred millions rather than three hundred as estimated by other writers. If the present rate of increase is maintained the point of saturation may be reached in the lifetime of the great grandchildren of the present generation.

Under these circumstances it behooves mankind to take stock of the situation. As to the race which will furnish the major part of the increase which nature will permit, Mr. West believes that the future belongs to the Caucasian. He has no patience with the alarmists who see in a rising tide of color a menace to the supremacy of the white race. In an interesting passage he suggests that the mulatto question may become the most serious of our racial problems. Census returns for 1910 are cited to show that twenty per cent of the negro population were identified as of mixed blood with a total of two millions. There is reason to believe that these figures are inaccurate for it is a well known fact that the prestige attached

to the possession of white blood among negroes, notwithstanding the racial pride of W. E. B. DuBoise and his followers, renders the word of a negro upon this point of uncertain value.

Thus the question is presented exclusively to the white race as to the policy which it shall follow. Mr. West is not at all uncertain in his recommendation that the only adequate remedy is to forestall, by an intelligent system of birth control, the period of intense struggle for survival which a population at its point of saturation will inevitably bring. Unfortunately, as things stand today, it is the class least genetically fit that contributes the larger part of the increase in population. As to the future, the author has little confidence in the application on an extensive scale of an ambitious scheme of eugenics and is forced to admit that in all probability the great mass of the people will practice an intelligent control of population only as a result of the force of circumstances.

Mr. West has written a readable book which should interest those who are tempted to ponder the future of mankind. If he yields sometimes to the impulse to wander into the by-ways of sociological problems, it is usually done in an instructive and interesting manner so that the reader is by no means the loser.

E. M. CARROLL.

ROBERT BURNS: HIS LIFE AND GENIUS. By Andrew Dakers. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1923. 230 pp.

About two-thirds of this volume is devoted to Burns' life, treated under four periods, the first ending with the death of his father, the second with his marriage to Jean Armour, the third with the termination of his farming experience at Ellisland, and the fourth with his death at Dumfries. The remainder of the volume is a critical examination, or rather appreciation of Burns as a poet.

From the publishers' announcement that "the author has studied the subject for many years" the reader is encouraged to hope that this book will contain either some new facts or some new and matured critical ideas. For the Burns specialist, however, or even for the special student of the period, it con-

tains nothing new, unless we except an almost Freudian insistence on Burns' continence before the age of twenty-three and the suggestive, if not entirely convincing attempt to demonstrate that Burns' satirical, narrative and descriptive poems constitute an even greater contribution than his songs. Mr. Dakers' matter is, in fact, disappointingly thin. Neilson's *Burns: How to Know Him*, published seven years ago professedly as an introduction to the poet, contains more and better biographical substance in considerably fewer pages devoted to biography and in addition manages to quote over a hundred poems as compared with only forty poems even mentioned, many of them not quoted at all, in Mr. Dakers' volume. Nor does Mr. Dakers pay much attention to the literature of the subject. He mentions only six writers on Burns and gives only two of these as much as a paragraph. The space thus saved is employed mainly in explaining Burns, the man. The general reader who is a Burns enthusiast will no doubt find his comprehension broadened and enthusiasm stimulated by some of these pages. Even so, it is a doubtful service to such a reader to lead him to suppose that Burns is the innovator of modern democracy and humanitarianism. So fine a bit of rhetoric as *A Man's a Man for A' That* loses none of its real value from the fact that it simply elaborates a famous statement broadcasted from America nineteen years before as a truth even then "self-evident." It is misleading, therefore, to claim that "the only aristocracy of which men desire membership" was given "life-breath" by Burns in this poem. Neither should the humanitarianism of Burns be treated practically as a thing apart, without reference to the similar sentiments expressed earlier by Cowper and others. It is too much to claim that by his religious satires Burns "drove a debased conception of God out of Christendom." Also it is unwise to give Burns credit for purifying Scotch traditional songs (a really great contribution) without realizing that they could not have been printed without purification. It is careless scholarship to tell the story of Burns' getting into a scrape at Dumfries through presenting several carronades "to the French Convention," when, as a previous writer has shown, the Convention was not formed until six months after the scrape.

It is evident that the author desires to be judicial, but his styles and temperament mislead him. He is too hortatory and moralistic—an inferior successor to the eloquent methods of the late Stopford Brooke. He sometimes abandons Burns for a moment to indulge unnecessary reflections of his own on such subjects as the importance of sexual continence in the social scheme and the fact that geniuses are born, not to be happy, but to serve. Such digressions are one reason for the impression of extreme dilution that one gets from Mr. Dakers' style. Aside from this tenuity of tangible content, Mr. Dakers' style is clear, although there are a few careless sentences such as should not have escaped the pencil of the editorial reader. One particularly remarkable expression is the following (p. 84): "Jean was packed off in . . . as intense a state of misery as a girl could hope to be."

N. I. WHITE.

The South Atlantic Quarterly

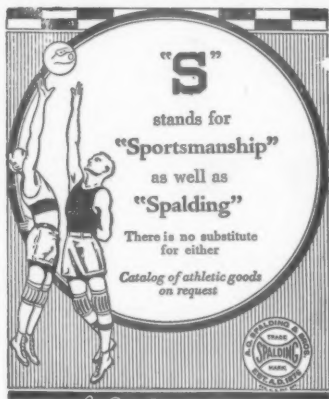
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